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ZORIN: U.S., NOT USSR, INITIATING ARMS RACE

LD172126 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 16 May 81

["Moscow Viewpoint" program by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] This week I'd like to get back to the subject of the Soviet military threat, a topic used by some American politicians and the mass media to convince ordinary Americans of the need to agree to more financial sacrifices to keep up huge military spending.

When I was in your country not long ago I was upset to see that the mass brainwashing campaign there has had some effect on public opinion. After all, could any sober-minded American agree to the administration's budget cuts on social programs to boost the Pentagon's budget if they do not believe in claims about the Soviet threat? Only by brainwashing the public is it possible for the administration to pursue its current course. Billions of dollars have been spent to create this myth that is supported by the mass media owned by the same Americans that are fed by the arms race.

This week I'd like to cite some facts. I stress the word facts so that you can draw your own conclusions. Americans are being told that the Soviet Union is leading the arms race and the United States has no choice but to take reciprocal measures. Yes, it is true there is an arms race underway, and it takes two to race. Both the United States and the Soviet Union are increasing their military arsenals, but in order to get to the bottom of the problem we need to look at certain facts, and here are the facts:

The United States was the first to build and then use atomic bombs. That was in 1945. At that time the Soviet Union proposed banning the use of atomic energy for military purposes. Washington, intoxicated with the atomic monopoly of the United States, arrogantly turned down the proposal seeing it as a sign of the Soviet Union's weakness, its inability in a short time to do away with the atomic monopoly of the United States. Under these conditions the Soviet Union was forced to respond by creating its own atomic bomb which was ready 4 years later. Then in 1954 the United States produced the first thermonuclear explosion, and again the Soviet Union was forced to take reciprocal, and I stress reciprocal, action. One year later the Soviet Union set off a thermonuclear explosion. In 1960 the United States came up with the world's first atomic submarine fitted with ballistic missiles. Again the Pentagon was drunk with illusions of superiority over the Soviet Union, and again the Soviet Union responded by doing away with American superiority. That took 4 years.

In 1970 the United States began making its intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple warheads. If anyone listening looks through American newspapers of those days you will see how excited the Pentagon was about its latest weapon, and that it believed it gave the United States the decisive upper hand. And once again the Soviet Union had to take reciprocal measures. A few years later the Soviet Army also had intercontinental missiles with multiple warheads.

I could go on with such facts, but I'll just mention the most recent example. The United States spent dozens of billions of dollars to make the latest Ohio submarine equipped with Trident missiles. In response, the Soviet Union came up with a similar submarine, called the Typhoon. These facts I have mentioned lead to at least two important conclusions: The first is that the United States, despite every effort and hundreds of billions of wasted dollars, is not able to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union. It cannot make any weapons that the Soviet Union is not capable of producing. And the second conclusion is that the Soviet Union has not once, nor at any stage of this deplorable arms race, been the initiator. Each time, this country has been forced to act in response to the Pentagon in an effort to stop the United States from gaining superiority over the Soviet Union. And so, while agreeing that not only the United States is involved in this dangerous and wasteful arms race, I'd like to stress that it is indisputable that the United States is the initiator of the race.

So, under these circumstances, it is ridiculous to talk about a Soviet threat. The menace is presented by the United States and so the Soviet Union is forced to take action in response.

Is there a way out of this vicious circle? There definitely is. If Washington will give up the futile illusion of gaining military superiority over the Soviet Union and if the American Government will stop trying to lead the arms race and initiating it, the Soviet Union, as has been said many times by Soviet leaders, is prepared to conscientiously sit down at the negotiating table with the aim of first curbing and then ending the arms race. It would be sensible politics in the interests of the American people as well as the world to stop hiding behind groundless myths of Soviet aggressiveness and the Soviet military threat, and demonstrate good will, and negotiate.

CHERNENKO URGES COALITION OF ANTIWAR FORCES

LD152034 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 15 May (TASS)--"The Soviet peace program for the eighties is only just beginning to be implemented. In essence, however, it has already done one very important thing: It has instilled in people the confidence that there is a real way out of the tense atmosphere in the world that has come about today," Konstantin Chernenko stresses. The member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, contributing to the pages of the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE [POLITICAL SELF-EDUCATION], recalls that the 26th CPSU Congress made extensive constructive proposals for the preservation of peace, the deepening of detente and the curbing of the arms race. "The essence of the CPSU's approach to the most burning question of modern times, the question of peace and war, is clear: A global nuclear missile clash would wreak incalculable disaster upon mankind. All peace-loving forces must act in cohesion in order to prevent the catastrophe of war."

"Today," the author stresses, "any responsible politician is obliged to realize that trusting in force, and in the use of nuclear missiles, puts into question the future of mankind in the world... That is why it is so important that the truth of the ruinous consequences of a thermonuclear conflict should be fully realized by all peoples."

"While acting persistently in the interests of improving the international climate, the Soviet Union is not reducing its vigilance," Konstantin Chernenko continues. "The CPSU's attitude toward attempts by certain Western circles to speak to us with the language of force and to their dangerous brinkmanship with regard to detente and 'cold war' was expressed categorically at the 26th CPSU Congress: We shall not permit anybody to encroach upon the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union and its allies. To ensure a peaceful life for the Soviet people and its friends, a sturdy shield is needed, and we have one in the valiant Soviet Armed Forces and the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact countries."

In conclusion, the author calls for joint action in the struggle against the arms race, for peace and social progress. "It is impossible to affirm peace by acting separately. Only a truly worldwide coalition of antiwar forces is equal to it. Such a coalition is no utopia. It is called into being by the urgent necessity for the peoples to unite in the name of peace and jointly to eliminate the threat of thermonuclear conflict."

ARBATOV VIEWS STRATEGIC POLICY, 'NUCLEAR MADNESS'

WA180800 Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 28 Apr 81

[Article by A. Arbatov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of the United States and Canada Institute under the USSR Academy of Sciences, in KOMMUNIST No 6, April 81, Signed to Press 10 April 81: "The Strategy of Nuclear Madness"]

[Text] In the pre-nuclear era strategic conceptions interested few people outside a narrow circle of the professional military. Today the situation has drastically changed. Strategic ideas are often becoming an object of heated public debates and attract the close attention of the public at large. This is understandable. The world's stockpiles of thermonuclear arms, carrying a threat to the very existence of our civilisation, have a deep imprint on the interdependence between military power, strategy and politics. In present-day conditions strategic plans and calculations not only determine how a war will be conducted should it suddenly break out--on them seriously depends the very probability of a nuclear conflict and, consequently, the durability of world peace. The danger of a global war has placed at the centre of international relations the task of preventing a thermonuclear clash and--as the most important line of its accomplishment--arms control negotiations. For this reason the problems of strategy, the question of the pace and scope of military rivalry have turned into a special area of relations between states; they affect the sharpness of political tensions in the world and the prospect of agreements in the field of disarmament. These are the causes of the broad worldwide discussion of the current U.S. strategic conceptions, in particular those set forth in the President's Directive No 59. In August 1980 information seeped into the American press about the approval of this directive, which has reoriented the nuclear strategy of the USA. Although the directive remains secret, the news was followed by the explanations of senior government officials and commentaries of specialists from which its essence became obvious: In the first place it envisages dealing "selective" U.S. missile blows against the command posts and military targets of the other side, above all those related to its strategic force; it has as its aim the conduct of a "limited" and "prolonged" nuclear war.

As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed in the Central Committee Report to the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the peace-endangering doctrines like the notorious Carter Directive No 59 are a "grave threat to all nations, including the people of the USA. They are being condemned all over the world." Exposing such strategic doctrines and vigorously opposing them are an integral part of the struggle for the diminution of war danger and the limitation of the arms race.

I. It should be said at once that the originality of the strategic concepts inherent in Directive 59 is very relative. Back in the early sixties Robert McNamara, the then U.S. defence secretary, put forward a so-called doctrine of "counter-force" which envisaged the possibility of nuclear strikes at the strategic targets of the other side, that is, essentially carrying out disarming missile attacks against the Soviet Union. But with the equalisation of the strategic balance towards the end of the sixties Washington was forced to abandon this suicidal strategy of achieving a "nuclear superiority" for the USA.

In the mid-seventies the then defence secretary, James Schlesinger, formulated another variant of "counter-force" in the shape of a conception of "selective nuclear strikes." When the Carter administration came to power the Pentagon concentrated on the further development of this strategic idea. The results of this work were confirmed in Directive 59, which advanced the conception of a "limited nuclear war" as one of the main elements of the strategy of "counteraction" proclaimed by Washington.

Thus, it is not a question of the strategic views of some one person, one administration or one party. Essentially, we see a tendency in strategic thinking which three and even four administrations, both Democratic and Republican, have approved in some way or other and which has already taken root and is living its own life little depending on presidential elections. Since the announcement of the directive the conception expressed in it has acquired a still greater tangibility in the military theory and policy of the USA.

It must be said that the arguments put forward in support of the above-mentioned strategy are built in a very subtle way. Their point of departure is the assertion that the military equilibrium on which the "nuclear containment" strategy of the late sixties and the seventies was based will substantially change in certain aspects in the eighties. Let us recall that by the end of the sixties, as strategic parity took shape between the USSR and the USA, the leadership of the United States was compelled to recognize that the Soviet Union had acquired an indisputable ability to destroy a hypothetical aggressor by retaliation. This possibility was called a capacity for "assured destruction" as a result of retaliation, and the USA could not but reckon with the fact that it had risen more or less symmetrically for the two sides.

So what, in Washington's opinion, changed in this regard during the seventies? The military and political leadership of the USA claims that a number of strategic armament programs, first of all the equipment of intercontinental missiles with multiple warheads and the enhancement of their combat power, have opened up the possibility of an effective missile attack against the ground targets of the strategic forces, and primarily the command centres and protected silos, of the other side. True, the latter, as before, retains the capability of destroying the administrative-industrial centres of the enemy by retaliation from its air force and by missiles launched from its submarines. But this capacity, assert the strategists of the Pentagon, may be paralysed by the threat of the initiator of the "nuclear exchange" to deal subsequent strikes at the cities of the other power with the help of his similar reserve forces. Thus, the administrative-industrial centres of the two sides would supposedly remain in a state of "hostages" even if inter-continental salvoes were fired against the ground military targets.

From this kind of reasonings the U.S. leadership draws its much-publicized conclusion about the need for the USA to establish an additional potential for dealing various combinations of a "limited strike" at protected military installations along with the so-called potential of "assured destruction." A former U.S. defence secretary, Harold Brown, in particular declared that the United States should have a capability of attacking in a selective and calculated way a whole number of military, industrial or politico-administrative targets while at the same time keeping the capability of assured destruction in reserve. Examining such "theoretical" constructs of the American strategists, one cannot help recalling the characterisation of the investigations of this kind given by Karl Marx, who a century ago wrote that in the wars of the most recent period of the imperialist bourgeoisie the general tendency for barbarity acquires a methodical character, immorality is elevated into a system, lawlessness finds its legislators, and the law of the fist--its codes. Directive 59 and the calculations underlying it are another "acme" of American strategic thought, cold-bloodedly manipulating with abstract scenarios of nuclear strikes and abstract "levels of damage" behind which the nightmarish realities of thousands of possible Hiroshimas are hidden.

II. As was to be expected, the U.S. militarist quarters are trying to blame the other side for the present changes in their nuclear strategy. The argument about the Soviet Union's alleged aspiration for "nuclear superiority", above all, in terms of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, is one of the chief motives behind the massive "Soviet threat" campaign which has been going on for the last few years. It is claimed that their improvement will make American missiles in silos vulnerable in the early eighties and that, it is argued, will give the USSR an opportunity to effect "counter-force strikes" which were considered earlier on. These allegations regarding the Soviet Union's intentions have become the propaganda trump-card of the military-industrial complex which calls for building up American strategic armaments and revising U.S. military concepts. This campaign has likewise been at the root of the effort of the enemies of detente to wreck the SALT II Treaty.

Those who produce the above-mentioned "arguments" deliberately pass over the fact that the existing disproportion between the USSR and the U.S. in terms of land-based strategic missiles reflects the objective, historically established difference in the military-technological development of the two powers and their geographic position, and that the particular advantages of the Soviet Union are counterbalanced, in a general relation of strategic forces, by other factors favourable for the U.S.

As one can judge even from some American sources, suffice it to compare the "counter-force" capabilities of both sides with due regard for the fighting capacity of all of their other elements, rather than within the artificial limits of one particular component of strategic forces, to find that there is no "superiority" of the USSR at all, nor will there be any in the early eighties.

As to the intentions of the USSR, the Soviet side has more than once explained at the most authoritative level that our strategic doctrine is purely defensive in character and that our missile and nuclear capability serves to deter the potential aggressor. The Soviet Union is not planning any pre-emptive strikes against whosoever. As L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized: "Our only concern is to prevent either the first or the second strikes and the nuclear war in general. The meaning of our approach to these matters can be summed up as follows: The Soviet Union must have a sufficient defence potential to stop anyone from venturing to disrupt our peaceful life."

So, it is not the alleged "Soviet threat" that has brought about further reforms of the United States' nuclear strategy. On the contrary, the campaign now under way in the West regarding the coming "nuclear superiority" of the USSR is meant to disguise the intention of aggressive imperialist elements to change the military balance to their advantage. It is right and proper to recall at this point that it is not the Soviet Union but the United States that initiated a series of military programmes in the seventies aimed at upsetting the strategic balance. These include, first and foremost, the programmes for providing the U.S. missile forces with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs, as Americans call them) which roughly quadrupled the total number of nuclear warheads in the American missile arsenal. Pentagon offices with their research and technology subcontractors keep developing and introducing more and more effective warheads and more accurate targeting systems (for example, MK-12A warheads) and enhancing the flexibility of retargeting U.S. strategic missiles and improving their control and communication systems.

Here is a point to note: The recurrent "Soviet threat" campaigns of the last two or three decades have been used, as a rule, to show the Soviet Union to have the very military superiority which the U.S. itself wanted to secure as it started one more campaign of military jitters. There is no doubt that the current ballyhoo about the "counter-force superiority" of Soviet missiles is designed as an excuse to justify the deployment of yet another generation of more sophisticated and destructive U.S. strategic armaments in the eighties. These include ground-based MX intercontinental mobile missiles, ballistic Trident-1 and Trident-2 missiles aboard giant Ohio-type nuclear submarines, and long-range air-, land- or sea-based cruise missiles. What the strategic concepts, officially postulating the need to "counter" the alleged "threat of a Soviet counter-force strike" mean, in fact, is developing exactly such a threat by the U.S. itself. For from the military-technological point of view, the forces created by the Pentagon supposedly for "retaliation" can be used for a pre-emptive missile attack as well.

III. There has been yet another point to note about the development of American nuclear strategy in the last 20-30 years. The more subtle and complex Washington's strategic concepts became, the more they were divorced from the realities of the international situation. All new additions to the arsenals of global devastation change practically nothing in the sufficient nuclear potential, already stored up, for destroying life on Earth many times over. Indeed, the very idea of military superiority, in its traditional meaning, that is, as an ability to win hostilities--no longer has any sense and becomes unattainable in the presence of the current immense stockpiles of nuclear weapons. The partisans of the arms race find it increasingly difficult to explain the continued buildup and improvement of the nuclear potential. So they are resorting to more far-fetched arguments. However, the fact that such arguments cannot face up to serious criticism, does not embarrass their makers in any way. Real military hardware worth billions of dollars is being developed to bear out the new concepts.

First of all, what does a limited "counter-force strike" mean? Official American explanations on this subject are deliberately ambiguous which does not, however, make the designs behind them in any way justified militarily.

If they mean, say, launching several missiles against their adversary's military installations, then this is no less absurd than the threat of a suicidal massive strike. For such a move would quite obviously mean starting a "central" thermonuclear conflict and, at the same time, leaving the other side free to apply its practically intact strategic capability. If Washington planners mean a coordinated missile strike at the entire complex of ground-based strategic targets, that would mean, consequently, dropping several thousand nuclear warheads on the territory of another country. In that case, the aggressor must not doubt that the reply to such a "selective" strike would be full-scale devastating retaliation, possibly, without waiting for the "counter-force" attack to hit the target.

It is no less important that the above-mentioned concepts are totally divorced from military-political and psychological realities. It is perfectly obvious that a thermonuclear war, which would be the most dreadful disaster in the history of mankind, cannot be waged in accordance with the models calculated by the Pentagon computers ignoring the "human" factor. "Counter-force" superiority is losing its real military-political meaning also because, with the present balance of forces, it cannot signify a disarming strike capability. For to speak about the possibility of a "victory" by calculating the balance of warheads that could remain in reserve after the oil refineries, electric power stations and other vitally essential capacities have been destroyed--and that is just the way many American experts are reasoning--means, in point of fact, mocking common sense. Leonid Brezhnev said very accurately and unequivocally on the score at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Trying to outstrip each other in the arms race and counting on a victory in a nuclear war is dangerous madness."

It is not just the contemplative findings of Pentagon experts that are behind the changes in the American nuclear concepts. The U.S. course in the area of strategic armaments is being directed by far more tangible driving forces. The former Defence Secretary Harold Brown, speaking in Annapolis in 1980, touched on those factors when he said that the commonly recognised purpose behind strategic concepts was not to set out plans for a real war. It was to create the possibility of action which, once known, would discourage the opponent from trying us out or exercising too strong a pressure on us. Translated from the official Washington language, this means that the measures the United States has been taking in the strategic field have been largely prompted by political considerations which lead up to the official endorsement of rather dubious military concepts.

IV. The purpose of the "information leak" about Directive No 59 into the U.S. press, deliberately engineered in August 1980, is quite obvious. The U.S. ruling circles are known to be in the habit of turning the most important questions of international security, disarmament and detente into a "ball" knocked about on the domestic political scene. Speculations on the subject during the election campaign of the Democratic Party were intended to win the sympathies of the U.S. right-wing forces and those who believed the latter's arguments and at the same time to "bring into line" the Democrats' liberal wing who were against the escalation of the arms race. But the tendencies of nuclear strategy that were formulated in Directive No 59, which was pointed out above, have survived more than one presidential election, and this alone indicates that their motive forces should be looked for in more serious political factors than the considerations of last year's electoral clash.

The continuous shift of the world alignment of forces in favour of socialism throughout the seventies, the powerful upsurge of the national-liberation movement prompted the activization of the attempts of the more reactionary imperialist circles to "replay" detente in their favour if not scuttle it altogether. Here the very social nature of imperialist policy stipulated the choice of the main instruments of countering detente and progressive changes in the world. The main emphasis was laid on building up arms arsenals and on the use or threat of force. The buildup of the nuclear arsenal is an integral and most important element of the policy of escalating the arms race, exacerbating confrontation with the Soviet Union, its manifestation at the top level of armed confrontation between socialism and imperialism. That is why beginning approximately with the mid-1970s the U.S. stepped up its efforts to find ways to break the strategic deadlock by launching another round of the arms race and formulating new concepts for global war.

As one of the U.S. leading "armchair strategists," Herman Kahn, cynically explained, the U.S. wanted to make the nuclear forces and nuclear war itself more rational, which presupposes making them more usable as a political instrument.

Since an all-out nuclear attack on the Soviet Union would mean suicide for the U.S. and since a disarming strike is impossible nowadays, it began searching a way out of the deadlock by construing concepts of "selective missile attacks", "limited counterforce strikes" intended to give the U.S. a means of pressuring the other side politically. The ideas of a "limited nuclear war" and the arms backing these ideas are meant by their authors to convince the world that the U.S. does not regard the use of first tactical and then strategic nuclear weapons as unthinkable because supposedly universal destruction would not be imminent. Exposing the basic motivation of this approach, Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress: "They want people to believe that nuclear war can be limited, they want to reconcile them with the idea that such a war is tolerable."

In appraising the line taken by the U.S. political leadership on strategic arms, it is necessary to bear in mind that, given objective military parity between the USSR and the U.S., the official criteria of old strategic concepts are becoming too narrow for the activities of the forces wishing the arms race to go on. In this situation ever new variations on the subject of the mythical "Soviet threat" are made up and new strategic tasks involving the use of the U.S. thermonuclear potential are formulated in order to justify and at the same time to impart a sense of purpose to the further expansion of the arsenal of mass destruction weapons. This process actually is a vivid illustration of the dialectic relationship between the means and methods of conducting warfare, and also armaments, tactics and strategy, which was revealed by the classics of Marxism. The organisation of armies and the methods of warfare they use, Engels wrote, depend on material conditions. He stressed that "advances in technique, as soon as they became applicable militarily and were in fact so applied, immediately... produced changes and even revolutions in the methods of warfare." (Frederick Engels, Anti-Duhring, Foreign-Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1959, p. 236). The fear of a crushing retaliation strike prevents the imperialists from using nuclear missiles in practice. At the same time the sinister dialectics of the development of strategic arms under conditions of the rapid scientific and technological revolution makes itself felt in the fact that new U.S. military concepts, being a byproduct of the missile-nuclear race, pave the way for carrying it on in new forms, and also for attempts to use the strategic threat in foreign policy.

For instance, the rapid deployment of ballistic missiles by the U.S. gave rise to McNamara's strategy of "counter-force", which in its turn spurred on the development of multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles. The fielding of MIRVs in the seventies was accompanied by the announcement of Schlesinger's concept of "selective nuclear strikes", in accordance with which the development of new weapons systems mounted on mobile launchers and having an enhanced capacity for hitting hard targets was accelerated. It is their deployment in the 1980s that the "limited nuclear war" concept, part and parcel of the "counterbalance" strategy, is called upon to rationalize.

The above strategic programmes also pursue political objectives of a different kind. The Pentagon leaders are setting themselves the task of imposing on the Soviet Union during this decade another round of the costly arms race, and in those areas where the Americans believe themselves to be particularly strong. Washington does not conceal its intention to "economically exhaust" the USSR in the future cycle of the production and deployment of new-generation nuclear missiles. It is therefore clear that Directive No 59 represents serious and long-term political plans of U.S. imperialism, and that it is these plans that have turned dubious strategic ideas into a real factor of U.S. politics.

V. The entire post-war history of the nuclear arms race is a story of U.S. imperialism's unsuccessful attempts to get out of a nuclear impasse. The hopes of American politicians and strategists to gain nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union or, at least, ensure U.S. unilateral advantage in the military field did not come true in the past, and they are all the more doomed to failure under the present global correlation of forces. In the USSR economy, science and technology are at such a high level that we can develop in a very short time any type of weapons on which the enemies of peace would like to make a stake.

The Soviet Union did not let, and will not let, anyone to talk to it in language of threats and blackmail.

As the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU stated, "the military and strategic equilibrium prevailing between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, is objectively a safeguard of world peace. We have not sought, and do not now seek, military superiority to the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we allow it to build up such a superiority over us. Attempts of that kind, and talking to us from positions of strength, are absolutely futile."

Equally futile are the plans for the "economic exhaustion" of the USSR by an unrestricted arms race. In line with the preliminary estimate of the Democratic Administration's expenditures for 1980-1985, the U.S. arms spendings stand at around 1,000,000 million dollars. The militarist circles, however, are not satisfied even with this astronomical sum, demanding 300,000 to 500,000 million dollars additionally to finance the drive to an incontestable military superiority. Such a course increases, above all, the burden shouldered by the American economy itself.

Judging by everything, the calculations of Washington to rally under its leadership the capitalist allies in Western Europe and draw them into the orbit of an anti-Soviet policy by escalating the arms race are also ungrounded. The latest developments have shown that America's partners display a growing inclination for independence and the protection of their own interests which are, to a much greater degree than those of their overseas "patron", connected with the prospects of detente and co-operation in Europe. The peace-loving forces of the continent are growing more and more alarmed by Washington's ever more sophisticated strategic ideas and plans to step up the arms race. This is understandable: What may be considered a "limited nuclear war" on an overseas theatre for the United States, would turn out to be total nuclear annihilation for Europeans.

Thus, the military-political and other results which Washington would like to get by the innovations in its nuclear policy are rather illusory. The dangerous consequences and the cost of this course, however, can be quite real. Re-orientation of the U.S. nuclear-missile policy to the conceptions of "limited" or "selective" blows leads to the lowering of a so-called "nuclear threshold", i.e., increase the probability of using nuclear weapons at an earlier stage of a conflict. Some American experts note that the growing vulnerability of major elements of the strategic forces will increase the probability of their preemptive use in fear of losing these forces as a result of the other side's blow.

The innovations of American strategy leading to the destabilization of the strategic equilibrium cannot but lead to a new round in the build-up of thermonuclear arsenals. In the political field they precondition the aggravation of tension and the growth of animosity and mistrust in inter-state relations, while in the economic field they will eat up billions of dollars which could otherwise be used for creative purposes. Lastly, a new round in the arms race would seriously aggravate negotiations on all the problems of military detente. Some of the programmes prodded on by the militarists "break" the limits which have been established or are being established by the SALT talks, while the qualitative characteristics of a number of new weapons systems, such as cruise and mobile ballistic missiles, complicate reciprocal control over the observation of possible agreements on their limitation.

Returning to the causes of Washington's dangerous moves in the nuclear-missile field, it is obviously insufficient to reduce everything to references to the malicious relapse of US foreign policy expansionism or the latest intensification of the activities of reactionary militarist quarters inside that country. Though these factors play an important role, they are not everything. Analysing the difficulties which emerged in the way of detente and arms limitation on the threshold of the 1980s, one must not underestimate the fact that the huge potentials threatening the world with destruction have acquired, one may say, a self-sufficing character, a sort of inertia of self-accumulation and renovation. This, rather than mythical Soviet supremacy, is one of the most dangerous real sources of the threat of war.

The strategic balance of forces between the USA and the USSR, even with overall nuclear equilibrium, embraces also many small-scale disproportions arising out of the objective differences in the position and history of the two powers. Arms race advocates in the United States exaggerate in every way the significance of some individual advantages of the other side and call for them to be eliminated, while glossing over the cancelling role of the disproportions favourable to the USA. Scientific and technological progress periodically makes it possible to develop ever more advanced weapons systems, and the U.S. military-industrial complex insists on introducing them on the plea that the same might be done by the other side, thus upsetting the strategic parity. Besides, missiles, aircraft and submarines are subject to physical tear and wear and to moral obsolescence. Interested circles demand their "timely" replacement by newer and naturally more effective systems capable of effecting qualitative changes in the military balance. To make it worse, the enormous costs and long lead times in the development and manufacture of strategic arms make planning in this field necessary for many years ahead (5 to 10), which offers the military-industrial complex more opportunities to invent future "threats" to U.S. security.

This is not, of course, the question of the arms race having become a depersonalised and objectively inevitable process. It is fuelled by quite definite social strata, organisations and individuals. Of late, in particular, a greater role in the U.S. establishment has come to be played by aggressive groupings which insist on a further re-orientation of the strategy towards the "effective conduct of a thermonuclear war" and towards limiting US losses to an "acceptable level". The same forces also seek not only to revise the SALT II Treaty, but also to scuttle the entire process of arms limitation. It is clear, incidentally, that in the arms race there have formed special sorts of built-in mechanisms of promotion, powerful "flywheels", and tried and tested techniques and argumentation. Time and time again the arms race champions are trying to justify their measures by the supreme interests of "national security", demanding that "trump cards" be made available in the form of new armaments, also ostensibly for creating favourable conditions at talks to limit nuclear missile rivalry.

In practice, however--and the events of the 1970s made it quite clear--the arms race is not only unable to secure military superiority for the United States, but it is also unable to solve any of the problems by posing which attempts are made to justify this race. Actually, armaments programmes, rather than correct the strategic disproportions, destabilise the military balance. Attempts to gain unilateral advantages, to threaten some particular elements of the other side's defence capability inevitably lead to counter-measures and rebound on the initiators. An arms buildup and concepts of more effective use of arms, instead of making the "deterrence" stronger, add to the probability of a global clash. This, certainly, does not strengthen the security of either the USA or other states.

In the nuclear age, as its first thirty years bear witness, security problems do not and cannot have a military solution. Security cannot be enhanced through an arms race, it calls for an entirely different approach. The successes of relaxation of tension and the first major agreements on the limitation of arms in the 1970s showed the possibilities and tremendous advantages of such an approach.

The opponents of detente and the advocates of an unrestrained arms race in the US attempt to cash in on the complications in the international arena and the difficulties involved in adapting US policy to the objective strategic parity of the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. The influence of these groupings has not yet become absolute, but their provocative activities are doing quite tangible political damage. At the same time, even in the complicated situation created both inside the United States and outside it, there are very many members of the US ruling circles who--if unwillingly, if not always wholeheartedly or without reservations--are compelled to admit that continuation of the SALT talks is worthwhile. We see here the powerful action of nuclear age realities, the imperative insistence of the present-day global balance of forces, which promises the USA no gains from an unbridled arms race and confrontation.

The 26th CPSU Congress was highlighted by a whole series of major new initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union in the military detente field, bearing on various kinds and types of armaments and armed forces, embracing many areas of the world and envisaging measures of both a political and a military nature. In the sphere of strategic arms, the USSR has once again called for restraint, declaring its readiness to continue without delay the appropriate negotiations with the USA, while preserving all those positive elements which have so far been attained in the SALT field.

The Report of the CPSU Central Committee has reaffirmed the desire of the Soviet Union to negotiate the limitation of any kinds of nuclear missile weapons on the principles of equality and equal security of the sides. In particular, it was proposed that the deployment of new atomic-powered missile-carrying submarines by the USA (of the Ohio type) and of similar systems by the USSR (of the Typhoon type) should be limited. It was also proposed that there should be mutual prohibition of modernisation of existing and development of new ballistic missiles to equip these submarines. Such agreement would be very important from the point of view of stabilising the strategic equilibrium, bearing in mind the supposed ability of these weapons systems to deliver highly accurate and sudden "counter-force" strikes (with minimum missile travel time to targets).

All these and other Soviet proposals are united by one common aim. As was stressed in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee, "to safeguard peace--no task is more important now on the international plane for our Party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world." By advocating progress in the limitation of strategic and other arms, the Soviet Union asks for no one's favours. Its peaceloving policy is not a sign of weakness, but evidence of the strength and confidence in the firmness of its stand. Military equilibrium, and the security of the Soviet people and their allies, will be ensured in the coming years both in conditions of new SALT agreements and, if the worst comes to the worst, without them. But aware of the great dangers and expenses of an unrestrained buildup of destructive potentials, the CPSU leadership and the Soviet Government, even in the present complicated international situation, do not slacken their efforts to improve the world political climate and curb the arms race. Herein lies the supreme measure of realism in contemporary conditions, for in the nuclear age the only alternative to such a policy is an inevitable growth of the threat of universal destruction. There is no third way, nor will it ever be discovered by any innovations in the U.S. nuclear strategy.

COVERAGE OF CEMA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Vietnamese Official Cited

OW151759 Moscow in Vietnamese to Vietnam 1430 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Dear friends: A regular meeting of the CEMA Executive Council is being held in Moscow, attended by vice premiers of CEMA member countries--namely, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. Also present at the meeting were representatives of Yugoslovia, which is not a CEMA member country, but which is linked to it by a cooperation agreement.

The participants discussed ways to expand cooperation within the CEMA framework in the 1980's. They also worked out specific economic measures to continuously assist Vietnam in developing its economy.

In an interview with our station correspondent, Comrade Huynh Tan Phat, Vietnamese vice premier and head of the Vietnamese delegation to the meeting, viewed the resolution passed at the meeting aimed at boosting the Vietnamese economy and promoting its development efficiency as an important factor. He said: The resolution has once again proved that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are ready to provide considerable assistance to the Vietnamese people. He stressed: These countries regularly assisted the Vietnamese people during their struggle for national independence and freedom, and they continue to do so at present when Vietnam is carrying out its socialist building efforts. The disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union and other CEMA member countries to countries with less developed economies like Vietnam plays an important role in seeking to equalize the pace of economic development of these countries and testifies to the efficiency of socialist internationalism. He continued: Privileged assistance conditions accorded Vietnam will help it promote its economy for the next 5 years and beyond. They will enable Vietnam to double its coal production in the next 5 years. After its construction is completed, the Pha Lai thermoelectric plant, being built with Soviet assistance, will be one of Vietnam's important sources of power. With Soviet assistance, Vietnam is building the Da River hydroelectric plant and will build more machine plants and antibiotics factories, and many other industrial projects.

The Vietnamese vice premier highly valued CEMA assistance in training Vietnamese scientific cadres and in assisting socialist specialists who help build Vietnamese economic projects. He stressed: Vietnam's commodity exchange rates will markedly increase in the next 5 years. Vietnam will export to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries weaving, tannery and metal products and clothing items.

Concluding his interview, Comrade Huynh Tan Phat said: Reality proves that all-round cooperation on an equal basis among the CEMA countries is conducive to developing the national economy of each socialist country in particular and of the socialist community as a whole.

Session Ends

LD162054 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] A session of the CEMA Executive Committee was held in Moscow. The communique notes that the Executive Committee discussed and approved for presenting to the next CEMA session, reports on the progress of implementing the integrated program and tasks of further deepening and improving cooperation of CEMA member-countries in the 80s, on an agreed draft plan of multilateral integration measures of CEMA member-countries for the current 5-year plan, and other matters. There was also an examination of some questions of economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE'

LD172220 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0845 GMT 17 May 81

["International Observers Roundtable" Program, with Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the NOVOYE VREMYA Editorial Board; Vadim Nikolayevich Nekrasov, KOMMUNIST international observer; and Boris Vassiliyevich Andrianov, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Andrianov] Very recently the Soviet people marked a truly nationwide holiday, Victory Day. And an important event in these festive celebrations was the speech made by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the opening of the memorial complex in the Hero City of Kiev.

Victory Day Celebrated

The heart of each Soviet person was touched by the moving words uttered by Comrade Brezhnev about the years of the very grave ordeals endured by our people during the Great Patriotic War and about the fortitude and heroism of the Soviet people who rose to defend their homeland, their freedom and their ideals. With a feeling of exalted grief Leonid Ilich spoke of the irretrievable losses which were borne by our people in the struggle against the forces of bloody fascism and of the 20 million sons and daughters of the land of the soviets who laid down their lives for the happiness of the Soviet people and for peace on earth.

The Soviet people, Comrade Brezhnev stressed, have shown that they can make good use of the blessing of peace. The dreams of the frontline soldiers, of all people who went through the horrors and deprivations of the war years, as to how powerful and wonderful our country would be after victory, have come true.

[Nekrasov] And so, comrades, here are the first days of May, spring days. They are always filled with the bright and joyful light of May Day and Victory Day. But not merely of these. It is not merely May Day and the joyful Victory Day. There are also the national holidays of the peoples with whom we are united by community of aims in the building of a new world, by the joint struggle for the fundamental interests of the working people of all countries, for peace, democracy and socialism.

The 36th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation from the fascist invaders has recently been commemorated. Before the fraternal Czech and Slovak peoples the prospect opened up of independent development and social progress which it has enjoyed in full in the last 36 years.

The 36th anniversary of the German people's liberation from fascism has also been recently commemorated, and for the first time on German soil a state of workers and peasants was born, building at a confident pace a society of developed socialism.

The RCP and the CPCZ have also recently commemorated their 60th anniversaries. Behind these parties, as behind the other fraternal parties of the countries of our socialist community, are many decades of tense and at times harsh but always heroic struggle for the bright future of their peoples against the antipopular policy of bourgeois regimes. And, of course, special significance was given to these holidays this year by the congresses of Communist Parties of our country, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the SED which recently took place, congresses which planned the prospects for the further advancement of our countries along the path of communist and socialist construction, of raising the working people's material and cultural standard of living.

Our parties and our countries proceed along a common road, live by common thoughts and aspire toward common aims. We feel close fellowship for each other in the struggle for the building of socialism and communism, we successfully interest within the framework of the collective organizations of the socialist countries, the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and we cooperate closely in the international arena.

For its part the Soviet Union, as was noted by Comrade Brezhnev and Comrade Tikhonov in their message to the comrades in the GDR, sees its primary international duty in strengthening in every way possible the fraternal family of socialist states, the reliable bulwark of peace throughout the world.

[Andrianov] In his speech in Kiev Leonid Ilich Brezhnev once again stressed that the supreme aim of the international policy of the Soviet Union is peace. The carefully considered, thoroughly prepared, noble peace initiatives of the forum of Soviet communists, a peace program for the eighties, were directed toward achieving this aim. But peace is not the sort of blessing which is granted automatically. Peace is being threatened and seriously threatened, Comrade Brezhnev said, peace must be fought for. This call for vigilance is more topical than ever. The speech by the Soviet leader gave a clear definition of the sources of the threat to the security of peoples. It is those representatives of the bourgeois world who are to blame for the serious aggravation of the international situation.

Dulles Airport Incident

A graphic example of that is the insolent anti-Soviet provocation perpetrated 5 days ago by the U.S. authorities in Washington airport against the Aeroflot aircraft and also against its crew members and passengers. At a press conference arranged in our embassy in the United States and also at a press conference in Moscow, where in the presence of journalists, members of the crew of the IL-62 plane which was subjected to the brigandly raid spoke, irrefutable facts were submitted which bore witness to the fact that this piratical action was inspired and sanctioned at the highest level in Washington. As you know, comrades, the actions of the organizers and perpetrators of the attack on the Soviet aircraft distinguished themselves by their special responsibility and had all the characteristics of extreme lawlessness and highhandedness.

The U.S. authorities have been exposed as liars. Now they are trying to wiggle out of it and extremely awkwardly are striving to evade responsibility for this barbarous operation which represents a very coarse violation of international law. This evokes the deepest indignation of the progressive world public. Representatives of the Secretariat of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers have stated, for example, that the action of the U.S. authorities contradicts not only the generally accepted standards of international law and interstate relations but also indicates that the U.S. administration verbally condemns violence but it increasingly frequently sanctions the use of violence as a means of achieving its aims.

The gangster operation in Washington in essence pilloried those who across the ocean expatiate about international terrorism, trying to use this term to slander the Soviet Union, its friends and allies and the national liberation movements.

Now the whole world is once again at first hand convinced that no one other than the United States itself uses in its relations with other states terrorist, gangster methods and is engaged in the most real international terrorism. And there is every reason to say that the attack on the Soviet plane was deliberately organized and was calculated to complicate still further relations between the USSR and the United States. We cannot but draw attention also to the circumstance that the provocative action in question was perpetrated in a situation where by the fault of Washington international tensions has sharply intensified. Thus the bandit-like provocation against our aircraft is obviously part of the plans of those circles which want to undermine detente, strengthen confrontation, sharply increase military expenditure and impose on mankind an unrestrained arms race.

These designs are distinctly visible in the foreign policy course of the U.S. administration and of some of the U.S. NATO partners.

Recent NATO Meetings

[Nekrasov] I would add that they were shown especially clearly last week, in particular at the Rome session of the NATO Council which took place at the foreign ministry level. Our listeners are doubtless acquainted with the TASS statement on the Rome meeting of the NATO foreign ministers. In essence, it can also be taken to refer equally well to the subsequent talks of NATO defense ministers in Brussels. In the decisions which were adopted in Brussels primarily the U.S. line toward intensifying international tension was reflected. As far as the West European participants are concerned, they supported and, one might say, obediently supported the decisions dictated from Washington.

What were these decisions? What is their essence? Well, first these same notorious 600 medium-range missiles which the Americans intend to deploy on West European soil. It is true that when there was talk of the decision concerning these missiles there was also mention of the talks which allegedly constitute a concession to the aspiration of the Europeans to preserve detente. But, in fact, if we consider the communique from the Brussels talks then it is perfectly obvious that there is no question anywhere of talks in the near future. They are postponed until some distant date, and what is even more important to note is the fact that it says of these talks that they must take place within the framework of strategic arms limitation talks. But you see, comrades, talks on strategic arms limitation are U.S.-Soviet talks which concern intercontinental ballistic missiles, and Washington does not intend to promise to hold such talks with the Soviet Union in the near future. Thus there is merely the screen, the camouflage of some kind of discussion on talks with us, but in reality there is confirmation of the decision on the missiles. That is one thing.

The second point is that demands which the American side has been making for a long time have essentially been accepted, that is, concerning an annual 3-percent and more increase of military expenditure by all NATO members.

The third point: It is additionally planned that in the coming years all NATO members, both the United States and the West European participants in that bloc, will quantitively increase their armed land, naval and air forces, that is, there will be an increase in conventional weapons and there will be an increase in numerical composition some time during the mid-eighties.

And finally one more point which can be clearly seen in the communique on the Brussels talks: Although it was done equivocally, nevertheless the possibility was discussed of using the armed forces not only of the United States but also of the other bloc members--this should be taken seriously--beyond the NATO's operational area, that is, we are talking about the Near and Middle East, Africa and other regions where the peoples' national liberation movements are continuing to develop. Thus the result of the talks which have taken place and the result of the Brussels meetings are unambiguous: Washington has succeeded in pushing its bloc allies further along the slippery path of stepping up military preparations.

Suzuki Visit

[Volskiy] Well, Vadim Nikolayevich, as you recall, Comrade Brezhnev spoke in his Kiev speech about the fact that in the West there are two types of politicians: those who have become accustomed to thinking in terms of force and diktat, and sober-minded politicians who understand that counting on force and on war with the socialist world is madness. When we speak about the type of politicians who have become accustomed to thinking in terms of force and diktat, they manifest a high level of activity not only in Europe, but also in Asia, in the Far East. I mean, in particular, in this case, the visit to the United States by Suzuki, prime minister of Japan.

[Andrianov] Yes, that is very true. Judging by the statements of the Japanese press and political observers in Tokyo, they have come to a conclusion, which is disheartening to them: The results of Suzuki's talks in Washington completely contradict what the head of the Japanese Government was saying in Tokyo on the eve of his trip across the ocean. It is appropriate to recall that the Japanese prime minister said that he allegedly intended to call resolutely upon the Reagan administration to conduct a policy of disarmament and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Suzuki assured the Japanese public that the country would not undertake additional military obligations. The head of the Japanese Government talked a lot at the time, expressing concern about the fact that the United States has taken a course toward confrontation with the Soviet Union, which is resulting in a deterioration of the international situation.

The Japanese bourgeois press is now making all kinds of surmises about what happened in Washington and they ask: Why did the Japanese prime minister promise to devote his efforts to the aim of improving the international situation on the eve of his visit and then return from overseas with results which are of a directly opposite nature, with results which moreover contradict the national interests of Japan itself? Observers in Tokyo are writing about some kind of metamorphosis which, allegedly, took place in Suzuki during his trip to the United States. You get the impression that in the Japanse capital they want to create the appearance that Suzuki had to submit against his will to Washington's pressure and agree to its conditions.

But is that how it really was? You see, the ruling circles in Japan are themselves intensively stepping up the country's military might and are speeding up military preparations. The military industrial complex of Japan has banked on that country's militarization. As for the military leaders, the Japanese generals are [illegible]ing their shoulders even more, openly manifesting the former imperialist ambitions of the Land of the Rising Sun. All of this naturally resulted in the emergence of the final communique following the talks in Washington which is essentially a declaration of aggressiveness. This document is striking by its openly expressed trend toward the aggravation of tension in the world. The influential and very authoritative Japanese paper MAINICHI emphasized directly that at the Washington talks Japanese-American relations acquired the clear hue of a military alliance directed aginst the USSR. It is very fair judgment, since the militarist alliance of Washington and Tokyo is founded on the aim of total opposition to the mythical Soviet threat. Sober-minded people in Japan justifiably evaluate the military union of Washington and Tokyo, which has now been given definite shape, as a dangerous turn by the Japanese ruling circles toward active participation by the country in the adventurist global strategy of the United States, and the latter holds a real threat to the peace and security of the peoples of our world.

Near East Situation

[Volskiy] When we speak about the dangerous global strategy, then I believe that we cannot separate from it what is now happening in the Near East, first and foremost in Lebanon, which is becoming the epicenter of events which are very threatening to peace throughout the Near Eastern region.

Let us briefly recall their history. Four years ago a civil war flared up in Lebanon. On the one side were military detachments of the rightwing conservative parties which control the Christian community of that country--it comprises approximately 35 percent of the population, whereas the rest are Muslims, that is the majority. These rightwing Christian detachments, most of which are called Phalangists, were opposed by the National Patriotic Forces, Palestinian organizations and their military detachments which are also deployed in Lebanon. In order to halt that very bloody and destructive civil war and in order to ensure peace in Lebanon, at the request of the Lebanese Government and in accordance with the decisions of the Arab League, inter-Arab security forces were introduced into Lebanon, consisting mainly of troops from Syria, which is a neighbor of Lebanon. In general, they quite effectively ensured peace all that time, through all those years.

This was to the liking of far from all: First and foremost it was not to the liking of the Israeli expansionists who established close contact with the Phalangist leaders, and in April the Phalangists arranged a whole series of warlike acts, which were directed in particular against the Syrian troops. What was the purpose? The purpose was to create within Lebanon a rather large enclave which would be controlled by the same rightwing Christian leaders, and to connect that enclave with Israel by means of a type of strategic corridor. The danger is that it is a question not only of a virtual division of the Lebanese state but of an attempt to create a potential Israeli bridgehead for an attack on Syria from the rear--not only for an attack, so to speak, from the front from the Golan Heights region, but also from the rear, from the flank, to be more precise, from the Lebanese side.

Naturally the Syrians among the inter-Arab forces resisted the Phalangists. Then Israel intervened directly. Its planes shot down two Syrian helicopters which were actually delivering not weapons or military supplies but merely provisions to the inter-Arab forces. In response, the Syrians established surface-to-air missiles at that place, antiaircraft missiles with purely defensive functions. And so Israel's ultimatum for those missiles to be removed thus ensuring for itself complete freedom of action in the Lebanese sky, caused the crisis of the present aggravation of the situation.

[Andrianov] Events in that zone change quickly. It is, of course, difficult to foresee their development.

[Volskiy] You are right, Boris Vassilyevich, that events develop quickly there. Even while we are talking at the roundtable they could take any turn. But it seems to be that one thing is beyond doubt: Aventurism turns against those who encourage it. Decide for yourself: What is the wide-ranging aggression by Israel against Lebanon and, even more so, against Syria fraught with? It will inevitably undermine Washington's positions in the Arab world with its oil wealth and strategic significance--those same positions which the United States has been trying to ensure throughout the recent period with such persistence.

[Andrianov] But in what way is Washington trying to ensure these positions? First of all, by supplies of weapons, which means the fanning of the arms race which in itself is a threat to peace in that already explosive region.

[Volskiy] And what is more, the American arms suppliers seem to be trying to outdo each other, to compete with each other, coaxing first one client and then another with the sale of military technology.

[Andrianov] Dmitriy Antonovich, you are talking about conventional weapons. But, after all, it is no secret that some of the American clients are trying out keys to nuclear weapons. Reports have once again appeared in the foreign press--quoting the American CIA, at that--to the effect that Israel has had atom bombs at its disposal since 1968. And it is symptomatic that the Israeli Government, although it does not confirm such reports, nevertheless does not rebut them.

Situation in Asia

[Volskiy] Well, there are also similar reports concerning the Republic of South Africa, the RSA racist regime. The Pakistani military regime does not conceal its desire to acquire nuclear weapons, either. Moreover, the timetable for the testing of this weapon--or, to be more exact, of a nuclear device--in Pakistan keeps being brought forward. What is more, according to press reports, the Pakistani authorities are being assisted in this dangerous undertaking by the Beijing leadership. The American Government for its part is clearly turning a blind eye to all this, especially now that it has openly taken a course toward turning Pakistan into its principal bridgehead in the center of Asia. And it may be no coincidence that the rightwing press in the United States seems to be keeping its mouth shut lately when Pakistani nuclear programs are being discussed, programs which only recently were provoking quite critical comment in the same newspapers.

[Andrianov] Dmitriy Antonovich, all this is a particular worry to India. The accelerated arming of Pakistan is generally being seen there as a direct threat to the country's national interests. In this connection, the wars in which Pakistan used arms received from the United States against India are being recalled. Is history not being repeated this time, too? This question is increasingly frequently being asked by Indians, both in government and broad public circles.

[Volskiy] Well, it is a natural question, of course. In actual fact, the Americans assert that they are arming Pakistan just in order to enable it to withstand some kind of threat allegedly originating in the north, from the direction of Afghanistan. But everybody realizes that such a threat does not exist, that something else exists: the equipping with American and other weapons of the gangs which are sent into Afghanistan from Pakistan. But however much they may want to, these Basmatch will not cope with the heavy American hardware which is intended to be moved into Pakistan.

So when they analyze all these circumstances the Indians reason thus: The military preparations in Pakistan are a long way from being aimed against India last of all. And not merely in Pakistan, it might be added. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who completed a trip to the Persian Gulf countries the other day, spoke with quite reasonable condemnation and alarm about the fact that Washington has deployed its naval armadas in the Indian Ocean and has transported even nuclear weapons to its main base there, Diego Garcia Island. All this creates the clear impression that there is a desire to surround India, to squeeze it in an enormous strategic pincer in order to put pressure on it, forcing it to change political course. But it is evident that this is realized in Delhi, and there is no intention to yield to intimidation.

[Andrianov] Looking at the situation which has now established itself in Asia, it is impossible, of course, to neglect the situation on the border between Vietnam and China. The situation there has deteriorated sharply, particularly of late, as a result of Beijing's hostile actions.

[Nekrasov] In intensifying its hostile activity against Vietnam, Beijing is undoubtedly guided by its general course aimed at an exacerbation of tension in Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole. The Chinese ruling clique is striving to prevent a stabilization of the situation in this region. It needs a tense situation there, circumstances in which the Beijing leaders count on realizing their great-power hegemonic designs.

[Andrianov] In particular, the fuss about the so-called international conference on Kampuchea has now grown more intense. The fuss has been organized by Beijing and Washington. However, they are also attempting to enlist ASEAN in their crude venture. This is shown by the final communique of the meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers, held in Jakarta. Under clear pressure from Washington and Beijing, the participants advocated the need for convening a so-called international conference on Kampuchea. In attempting thus to prevent the ASEAN countries in the role of the initiators of the idea of convening this conference, if it may be called that, the United States and China, in the words of the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA, are using the embers of this association for their mercenary ends. An international plot is being prepared against the people of Kampuchea who are building a new life, MERDEKA stresses. It is noteworthy that if the United States earlier closely coordinated their subversive actions against the People's Republic of Kampuchea it was done on the whole without publicity. Now Washington is openly entering an alliance with Beijing, attempting to knock together some kind of united front of the remnants of Pol Pot's men who have entrenched themselves on Thai territory and the most ill-assorted anti-Kampuchean emigre elements vegetating abroad: from double-dyed monarchists to mercenary politicos who once held power thanks to the American-Saigon interventionists. And attempts are being made in Washington and Beijing to elevate this riff-raff of Pol Pot cutthroats and emigre rabble to the standing of some sort of nationalist movement.

An official U.S. State Department spokesman has already declared support for such a movement of the enemies of the legitimate Kampuchean Government. According to a report in the New York DAILY NEWS, Secretary of State Haig intends to make a trip to China at the end of June and, what is more, one of the aims of the visit is reported to be to discuss with Beijing ways of rendering assistance to terrorist groupings preparing to topple the popular-revolutionary authorities in Kampuchea.

[Volskiy] This is most likely what is meant when they go on about some Kampuchean problem which they intend to resolve most certainly in a manner similar to that which the Pol Pot regime used for such solutions.

[Andrianov] If we can speak at all of some problem of this sort, then it consists exclusively in the incessant intrigues of the imperialists and the hegemonists against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. No other Kampuchean problem exists at present. It was resolved by the Kampuchean people who on 7 January 1979 as a result of a revolutionary rising toppled the hated regime of the Chinese placemen, Pol Pot and his associates. In so doing, the Kampuchean people made its own definitive choice.

This historical fact can be ignored only by those who go in for unprincipled political intrigue, attempting to interfere crudely in the internal affairs of a sovereign country, those who without a twinge of remorse resort to political sabotage of an international venture with the aim of exacerbating the situation in Southeast Asia, and nor merely in this region. As regards the people of Kampuchea, they have given yet another decisive response to all the intrigues of their enemies, demonstrating at the recent general election to the National Assembly their close cohesion around their native revolutionary power and expressing full support for its policy.

With that we end our program. Thank you for your attention, respected comrade listeners. Goodbye and all the best.

ZAMYATIN ASSESSES U.S. ADMINISTRATION POLICIES

LD161524 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 16 May, TASS--"Among the decision makers in the capitalist countries, there are quite a few figures who would like to test the USSR for strength, who lead things to a qualitatively new atmosphere in the world, to creating a situation of confrontation," said Leonid Zamyatin, head of the Department of International Information of the CPSU Central Committee. He was speaking on Soviet television today in a program on international issues.

"In the first place I mean the Reagan administration, which has recently come to power", Leonid Zamyatin said.

The foreign policy concept of the new U.S. administration has already been formulated on many issues, he said. "Quite a definite conclusion can be drawn that it has taken a course for sharply building up the arms race. The new administration considers confrontation against the Soviet Union in the economic, political and other fields to be its main foreign policy concept."

"The United States", he said, "has opted for military supremacy over the Soviet Union as its political concept. The United States is discarding the policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy of detente, and is making stake on a sharp buildup of the U.S. military presence in different parts of the world, including along Soviet frontiers". "The administration of the United States believes that through the massive buildup of the arms race and deployment of American Armed Forces in the world, the United States can have a recurrence to big stick policy and to impose its policy upon other states of the world".

But, Zamyatin stressed, "The gross pressure that the U.S. Government is now resorting to when the U.S. guns take aim at the countries, say, of the Persian Gulf area, or the states situated of the Indian Ocean area gives rise to quite natural opposition". And it is absolutely clear that "brandishing the military stick, the United States cannot change the correlation of forces in the world that has established in the recent years", he said.

Touching upon the results of the Rome session of the NATO Council, Leonid Zamyatin characterised its communique as the "final document" which reflects, in actual fact, the foreign policy line of the Reagan administration, including questions of Europe, armament and relations with the Soviet Union. There are leaders, he said, who say that the session allegedly "made a substantial contribution to the recovery of the international situation." "But to say so means not only to be contrary to common sense, but to indulge in no other than cynicism since the session adopted no decisions that, though on the first approach, might be considered as proposals aimed at recovery of the situation in Europe."

Touching upon the United States' promise to open negotiations with the Soviet Union, which the United States gave its NATO allies in reply to their consent to deploy American missiles on the territory of Western Europe, Leonid Zamyatin noted that at the negotiations, as it is clear from the communique, the United States and its allies are going to discuss the question of "limitation of the Soviet Union's military might in the sphere of nuclear-missile weapons in Europe".

In this connection he emphasized that the negotiations should be carried out not only on reduction by the Soviet Union of its nuclear-missile weapons but in the whole complex of medium-range missiles, and this means also the discussion of American forward-based means in Europe.

Leonid Zamyatin turned down the assertions, as being contrary to reality, that the Soviet Union allegedly has superiority over the NATO bloc in the sphere of medium-range missiles. That thesis, he said, is being widely spread of "to break the resistance of those Western European states which do not want to deploy this weapon".

Leonid Zamyatin referred to the competent statement of Soviet military specialists who explained that the "aggregate quantity of the means of delivery of medium-range nuclear weapons that the United States and its allies have in Europe stands at 987 units. This approximately corresponds to the quantity that the Soviet Union has".

The desire of the United States to deploy in Europe another 600 Pershing-II and cruise missiles will lead to the United States' superiority over the Soviet Union by approximately 50 percent. "This exactly is the aim of the United States," stressed Leonid Zamyatin.

Leonid Zamyatin drew the television viewers' attention to the situation in Lebanon which has been seriously aggravating with every passing day, and which may lead to major armed conflict in the region.

Leonid Zamyatin emphasized that the very complicated situation that had now developed in Lebanon called for peaceful ways of solution of the question, patient negotiations, and noted that the Israeli Government holds a totally implacable stand of ultimatums, and "the mediatory mission", that the United States [has] undertaken, "actually resolves into support of Israel's demands."

"The provocations that have now been ventured in Lebanon by the right-wing Christian forces with Israel's support", he said, "are linked with offensive operations against the Arab people of Palestine so as on having conquered it, [as received] to start its gradual annihilation, i.e., to conduct the policy of genocide. One should consider exactly in this context the aggressive actions which are being conducted by the Israeli military in that region".

REAGAN RECEIVES S. AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA

LD162116 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] Washington, 16 May, TASS--President Ronald Reagan had a meeting with visiting South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha. The White House said they had discussed a wide scope of issues presenting mutual interest. A White House spokesman also said that the meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere, but did not elaborate on the substance of the issues discussed.

Observers regard the visit by a member of the South African apartheid regime's ruling clique and the attention he is getting in Washington as new evidence that the Reagan administration is determined to continue to broaden its cooperation with Pretoria in order to make South Africa a strategic strong point of American imperialism.

Officially, the United States is "reconsidering" its policy towards the Republic of South Africa and the rest of Africa, and has not yet worked out a new one. The Reagan administration's practical actions, however, show that it is planning to openly support the South African racists.

In reply to questions by correspondents, White House spokesman Larry Speakes admitted that the Reagan-Botha talks did not even touch upon Pretoria's apartheid policy. He also evaded a question by a black woman journalist, why President Reagan, who has announced a "crusade" on international terrorism, received a representative of South Africa's terrorist regime which flagrantly violated the basic rights of the indigneous majority.

In an effort to justify the policy of connivance of South African racists, official U.S. propaganda has resorted to a face-saving device, depicting things as if the administration were almost reluctant to keep up contacts with Pretoria but had to do so for the sake of peaceful settlement in Namibia.

Observers believe, however, that the argument is absolutely invalid. It is the massive support of the West that enables South Africa to ignore the will of the international community and persist in the illegal occupation of Namibia, suppressing the freedom and independence struggle of its population by force of weapons.

Only recently Washington again backed up the racists by blocking a resolution demanding all-round sanctions against South Africa in the UN Security Council. Washington is using South Africa as a transshipment base for arms deliveries to the terrorist gangs of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], fighting against the legitimate Government of Angola. The U.S. administration is clearing the way for a sharp increase in its interference in the south of Africa, as can be judged from a senate Foreign Relations Committee decision to cancel the Clark amendment which banned military aid to splinter groups in Angola. In this context, many observers see the talks in Washington as a major step to consolidate collusion between American imperialism and South African racists, seeking to heighten tension in southern Africa, to undermine the peoples' freedom and liberation struggle and to ensure further predatory exploitation by Western monopolies of the human and natural resources of this rich area.

Levchenko on Meeting

LD160710 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 16 May 81

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko]

[Text] Washington, 16 May, TASS--U.S. President Ronald Reagan had a meeting with South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, who is currently on a visit in Washington. As the White House said the meeting proceeded in a "friendly" atmosphere.

Observers evaluate the visit to the USA of the representative of the ruling clique of the apartheid regime of the South African Republic and the attention accorded in him by official Washington as fresh proof of the fact that the Ronald Reagan administration intends to continue the course for broadening cooperation with Pretoria with the aim of turning the South African Republic into a strategic base of U.S. imperialism.

The official policy of the USA towards the South African Republic, like the whole of Africa, has not yet been "outlined" and is at the "stage of re-examination." But the course of actions by the new administration has clearly shown from the very outset that President Ronald Reagan intends to come out openly in support of the South African racialists.

REAGAN ANTICOMMUNIST REMARKS AT NOTRE DAME NOTED

LD171916 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 17 May 81

[Text] Washington, 17 May, TASS--U.S. President Ronald Reagan delivered a speech at Notre Dame University (Indiana) today. He did not touch upon the problems of foreign and home policy of the United States, but only preferred to read a lecture to young people about "moral values" and at the same time to "defeat" the ideas of communism at one stroke.

He said "The West will not contain communism, it will transcend communism. We will not bother to denounce it, we'll dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history, whose last pages are even now being written."

These statements are made at a time, when according to the President himself, the United States is going both through a moral and economic crisis. Reagan expressed concern over economic stagnation borne of inflation, "burdensome and unnecessary regulations and... a punitive tax policy." Crime rate and violence, whose victim the president himself was recently, is speedily growing in the country.

Even before President Reagan's visit to Notre Dame University a movement of protest against his appearance started there. The newspaper NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER strongly criticised the administration for taking billions of dollars from social programmes and giving away these billions, and many others, to military programmes. The White House, the newspaper writes, crudely flouts the human rights, which is particularly vividly seen from the examples of El Salvador.

CONTINUED REPORTAGE ON DULLES AIRPORT INCIDENT

'Official Sanction'

LD151722 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 14 May 81

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary from the "Weekly Comment" program]

[Excerpts] Of course it is the situation of anti-Soviet hysteria in the United States which makes possible such insolent provocations as that committed by the American authorities in regard to a Soviet passenger plane at Washington airport on Tuesday. The Soviet Government has resolutely protested to the United States administration.

Now what did actually happen at the Dulles Airport in Washington on Tuesday, 12 May? Shortly before the Soviet Aeroflot passenger jet was to take off for Moscow it was suddenly surrounded by about 10 cars carrying armed FBI and customs agents and the agents of other United States special services. More than 30 of them forced their way into the plane, forced the crew out of the cockpit and unloaded all baggage, including that belonging to the employees of Soviet official missions in the United States.

Just imagine that other nations would follow suit and start committing similar savage acts with regard to foreign passenger planes, their crews and passengers? In such a case norms of international law would have been substituted by the law of the jungle.

It is obvious that the provocation at Washington airport was planned and undertaken not only by the customs officials, as the State Department spokesman said. According to press reports, the State Department was quite aware of the operation and in response to the demand of a representative of the Soviet Embassy to explain what was taking place, the participants of the bandit operation replied outright they were acting on orders from above. It is also noteworthy that despite the approach by the Soviet Embassy to the leadership of the State Department with a resolute protest and demand to stop the arbitrariness, nothing was done. And one more detail: The operation against the Soviet airliner was carried out not only by customs officials but also by armed FBI agents and agents of other United States special services. This means that various federal agencies and departments were involved and, therefore, the administration is fully responsible for the terrorists' act against the Soviet plane. Needless to say that methods and tactics used by the American authorities in the Washington international airport are absolutely incompatible with normal relations between nations. It was a hostile action committed against both the Soviet and American peoples and against cooperation between our two countries. The action resembles cold war times. It is another indication that influential forces in Washington are more interested in further increasing the anti-Soviet hysteria and international tensions than in maintaining good-neighborly relations between the two countries.

USSR Aviation Workers Protest

LD151630 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 15 May 81

["Protest Statement by the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Aviation Workers"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 15 May (TASS)--The Central Committee of the Soviet Trade Union of Aviation Workers has published a statement resolutely protesting on behalf of USSR air transportation workers about the criminal, barbarous act carried out by the American authorities in relation to the Soviet airplane in Washington and the methods of open gangsterism which are unprecedented in the practice of international air communications.

As has already been reported, a large group of FBI agents, using brute force, seized a Soviet aircraft on 12 May in Washington's Dulles Airport, removed the crew from the cabin and, in their absence, opened the panels of the aircraft's navigational equipment and controls.

The document emphasizes that Soviet airplane pilots, who have flown in 85 countries around the world, have never been confronted with such flagrant acts of unconcealed and cynical violence sanctioned by the official authorities. And in no other country in the world have Aeroflot workers met with such difficulties in guaranteeing a normal service for their aircraft and even the safety of flights, as take place in the United States.

While accusing others of supporting international terrorism, the American authorities are demonstrating by their deeds a complete disregard for the norms of international law and are elevating terrorism and banditry to the level of official policy.

The authors of the statement point out that for many years the U.S. administration has taken care of the Brazinskas, those murderers and hijackers of a Soviet aircraft. Provocations against Soviet aircraft in New York airport, against the Aeroflot office and, finally, this latest unprecedented act at Dulles Airport are all testimony to the fact that, instead of carrying out its international duties in air communications between states, Washington is striving to aggravate international tension, to kindle anti-Soviet hysteria.

One of the tasks of the USSR Aviation Workers' Trade Union, as of numerous national trade unions and international organizations of air transportation workers, is the guaranteeing of safe work conditions in civil aviation as a whole and the safety of flights in particular, the statement says. The trade union's Central Committee has applied to the International Federation of Airline Pilots' Associations, of which the pilots of the Soviet international airlines are members, appealing for the full use of that organ's authority to forbid such provocations in the future.

Pilots Hold Press Conference

LD151940 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 15 May, TASS--The crew of the Soviet plane detained in a bandit-like manner at Washington airport exposed the instigators of this brazen act of provocation. The pilots spoke before Soviet and foreign journalists at a press conference, which took place in Moscow on May 15. Crew Commander Aleksander Vitkovskiy, Hero of Socialist Labour and merited pilot of the USSR, has flown planes for about forty years, twenty of them international routes. He says, however, that that was the first time he came across such brigandage.

When about twenty minutes was left to the takeoff, Vitkovskiy recalls, four armed individuals with handcuffs dangling from their belts burst into the airplane. Their "equipment" shows that thev were not mere customs officers but those who had prepared for a brigand-like raid in advance. The very choice of time for the attack indicates how carefully it had been planned: It was at that moment that the plane was opened to receive passengers on board.

Having pushed the crew out of the pilot's cabin by force, the agents pried open the safe where the weapons that are due to the crew to ensure safety in flight were kept. Incidentally, while previously aircraft had been attacked by terrorists in the air, in Washington such an attack took place on the ground. The raiders thoroughly searched the entire cabin and unceremoniously dug into navigation instruments, which could have adversely affected the plane's fate in flight. They broke open the floor, where important lines of communication pass, and also instrument panels. There are those in Washington who are now claiming that the operation was carried out in the presence of the crew. This is a brazen lie! We are outraged by the arbitrariness of the American authorities which trampled underfoot every rule of international law. Who stands behind this bandit-like action? Undoubtedly those who would like to worsen Soviet-American relations.

The story told by the commander was complemented by the second pilot Vladimir Kostyrin. When the Soviet plane was thus "boarded," it was surrounded by about ten cars. 38 agents began hurling the luggage right on the tarmac--as if they could not switch on the transporting transporters. Equipped with special knives looking like shoemaker's knives, they unceremoniously pried open all the luggage without any exception. The buses with passengers were ordered to a distance of about 30 meters away from the plane so that the passengers could see the scene of vandalism. Nobody could explain to us what the agents were looking for, and it was impossible to make any sense out of their actions. They broke open everything without exception. They even poked into the sink for the discharge of toilet water....

The American authorities are trying to present the act of piracy in the Washington airport as a routine customs inspection, said Aeroflot's representative in Washington Vasiliy Afanasyev. But what is there in common between a customs inspection and this undisguised act of banditism? When I attempted to inquire about the aim of the operation, one of the agents hollered: "Don't irritate me or I shall throw you overboard." The man in charge of the group of the attackers, William Rudman, said that these actions were undertaken "on orders from above." The action was a crude violation of the diplomatic immunity, since it also involved a forcible opening of the luggage of the Soviet diplomatic representatives. The American authorities alleged that on board the Soviet plane there were three batches of cargo of a "defence nature" whose export is prohibited. But the fact is that the whole of the luggage had been presented by us, in keeping with the established rules, to the customs officials three days in advance of the flight and was cleared by the customs for taking out of the country.

Air hostess Nina Podgornova reported additional details about the unceremonious behaviour of the American "customs officials" on board the plane: "We were made to sit down in the first passenger compartment and were not allowed to stand up," she said. "We felt as if pistols were leveled at us and this went on for several hours."

"How dare these insolent people," the air hostess said with indignation, "talk about human rights if they themselves violate these rights so remorselessly on their own territory."

Podgornova said that when passengers were finally allowed to board the plane, they spoke out their indignation. Everybody was protesting against the American authorities' actions, including both the Soviet citizens and the Moscow-bound American tourists and businessmen as well as people from other countries.

Anatoliy Brylov, executive secretary of the USSR Commission on International Civil Aviation Organization [ICAO], described the provocation in the airport as a flagrant violation of international law.

He said, specifically, that there were special provisions in the international civil aviation conventions, signed by both the USSR and the United States, declaring as criminal any interference with the service of airliners or with the normal functioning of onboard equipment and instruments. The illegal opening of the instrument and high-precision equipment panels in the IL-62 airliner by the American agents cannot be qualified as other than deliberate and arbitrary efforts to diminish the security of the plane. These actions infringed on the dignity and rights of the people that were the victims of the provocation, and contradicted the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which the United States has signed.

The USSR, Brylov said, has enough grounds to demand that the United States severely punish the criminals guilty of this barbarous act.

The piratic actions of the American agents did a serious damage to the Soviet plane. As was reported at a press conference by Deputy Minister of the Civil Aviation of the USSR Sergey Pavlov, the examination of the plane carried out in Moscow upon its return from Washington revealed that the opening of the first luggage compartment had damaged the blocks of the inertia navigation system, which endangered the security of the flight. The unceremonious actions of the participants in the provocation caused a number of other important damages.

The Soviet Union, Pavlov stressed, reserves for itself the right to present to the responsible U.S. authorities a claim demanding compensation of the damage.

'Gangsterism' Official Policy

LD160902 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 16 May 81

[TASS news political observer Yuriy Kornilov: "Piracy in Dulles and the 'Free Press' of the United States]

[Text] Moscow, 16 May, TASS--Profound indignation is the reaction of Soviet and international public to the piratic raid against the Aeroflot plane, which was inspired by the U.S. authorities and special services. It is quite a natural reaction as what happened in Washington's Dulles Airport on May 12 is an example of a crying disregard by the U.S. authorities for the time-honoured standards of interantional law, and in general the basic notions of decency, an evidence of the fact that terror and gangsterism have been elevated to the level of official policy in the United States. Apart from it, another thing is noteworthy:

While protests are loudly expressed all over the world against the unprecedented arbitrary actions of the U.S. authorities, the bourgeois press of the United States itself, which is so fond of sensationalism, is this time clearly trying to pass over in silence the act of banditism by the U.S. special services, trying to pretend that "nothing special" has happened in Dulles or, while passing over in silence or completely distorting the facts is trying in vain to picture the incident as some very insignificant episode in connection with a "routine customs inspection." This is done by practically all the bourgeois mass media of the USA as if at the command.... [TASS ellipses]

But why "as if"? The timing of the line taken by the U.S. bourgeois press leaves no doubt that such an order has really been given: In all appearance the U.S. State Department would very much like to gloss over the scandal around the bandit raid against the Aeroflot plane. But they will not be able to do so: The impudent piratic act in Dulles has shown for the whole world to see that the methods of open gangsterism are increasingly becoming the daily practice of the U.S. authorities. As far as the clumsy attempts made by Washington to hush up the incident, they are only fresh evidence of how high-handedly the powers that be in the USA orchestrate the so-called "free press."

NAVAL STRIKE GROUP TRANSFERRED TO MEDITERRANEAN

LD161726 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1142 GMT 16 May 81

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Lyutyy]

[Text] Washington, 16 May (TASS)--The United States has transferred a naval strike group comprised of the aircraft carrier Independence, the guided missile cruiser Yarnell and the guided missile destroyer Adams from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea. This has been announced by an official Pentagon spokesman. Thus, the total number of American warships in the Mediterranean has been increased to 32.

American observers are linking the redeployment of U.S. naval forces with the tense situation in the Lebanon where, as is known, the situation has been sharply complicated lately as a result of terrorist actions by the Israeli military. The U.S. naval frigate Truett and the destroyer Ingram are already at the Israeli port of Haifa. In addition, UPI reports that the aircraft carrier Forrestal may be speedily transferred to the Lebanese shore.

The United States's revival of "gunboat diplomacy" in this case is aimed at supporting Israel's aggressive actions against neighboring Arab states. In the last few days Tel Aviv and Washington have been making threatening statements against Syria. Israel's Prime Minister Begin has openly declared his intention of starting a mass air attack against Syrian units belonging to the inter-Arab peace-keeping force in Lebanon.

Against the background of these aggressive preparations, the Near East mission by Habib, the U.S. President's special representative, is assuming a truly hypocritical character. The administration claims that this mission is undertaken with the purpose "of lessening tension in the region." Such claims are being appraised with skepticism even by American bourgeois journalists. At a State Department news conference a correspondent of the NBC television drew the attention of the U.S. State Department spokesman to the fact that "Since Habib's departure for the Near East, the situation there has not improved but, just the reverse, has deteriorated.

MOSCOW ARABIC EXPLAINS U.S. MIDEAST STRATEGY

LD162301 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1500 GMT 16 May 81

[Excerpts] With the advent of the Reagan administration, U.S. strategy in the Middle East concentrates on the use of force or the threat of using it. The notorious Camp David operation concerning the so-called settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict was demoted into second place. In this context Radio Moscow gives three talks entitled "Washington's Strategy for the Middle East" by Maj Gen R. Simonyan. Here is the first one:

The so-called new U.S. strategy for the Middle East was formulated in the beginning of 1980 and was named the Carter doctrine. According to this doctrine, the Middle East was declared a region of vital U.S. interests. Its essence is the continued [word indistinct] of U.S. imperialism's political and military penetration of Middle East countries and adjoining regions. With the advent of the new administration, only the [word indistinct] was changed. The doctrine bearing the name of the outgoing president was replaced with the concept of the so-called new style. [passage indistinct]

But now Washington [word indistinct] its expansion with the need to protect the Arabs from the alleged Soviet danger. It is desired that the U.S. Armed Forces should become one of the main means of achieving the so-called new Middle East strategy. The use or the threat of using those forces should allow Washington to influence events in this region to the advantage of the United States. The main direction in this is defined by no other than President Reagan himself. He was the one who said that it was not [words indistinct]. I believe that our presence on land is also necessary. Soon the U.S. chief of staff, General Jones translated this expression into military language. He addressed the House of Representatives Armed Forces Committee and demanded U.S. presence on land in the Arab Gulf also. He said that this was necessary in order to make it clear to all that the United States was ready to support its positions with force.

In implementation of this, the Pentagon has massed in the Arab Gulf a huge naval force. Washington is taking substantial steps to implement a five-year plan for the construction and widening of bases [words indistinct]. More than $2 million have been earmarked for this. Military bases are being built in Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, Sudan and Oman, in addition to Israel which was made in its entirety a lynchpin for aggression against the Arab world. It is known that the U.S. has been using Israel's military bases for a long time. Since March 1980 [word indistinct] entry of U.S. Navy ships to the Haifa and Ashdod naval bases.

The Ras Banas base in Egypt is being (?expanded) to make it suitable for use by the Rapid Deployment Force. When the work being done at the moment is completed, it will be able to receive 16,000 American soldiers. In addition, the Egyptian Government has allocated several air bases to the U.S. Air Force in the southern portion of the country and in the Sinai. It has also consented to the operation of AWACS from Egypt for reconnaissance in the Middle East and the northwestern section of the Indian Ocean. In addition, the U.S. is making big efforts to spread its bases in Somalia, Kenya, and Oman. The world press said that nuclear weapons were being stationed in Diego Garcia, the main base for the Pentagon in the Indian Ocean. It is known that Directive 51 issued by former President Carter provides for the use of these weapons in the Middle and Near East.

[Word indistinct] this talk I want to ask once again: By what right is the U.S. making the Middle East a powder keg instead of responding to the demand by Arab and non-Arab countries of the region to stop supporting the Zionist aggression, Washington itself has begun to plan military adventure against independent and sovereign states in the Middle East. The recent visit by U.S. Secretary of State Haig to the Middle East and the Gulf came as a new [word indistinct] that the U.S. was not interested either in achieving a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East or in guaranteeing the security of the countries of the region; rather, it was intentionally maintaining tension and striving under the guise of the lie of the "Soviet danger" to secure its military presence there. Haig said that Israel was the most secure ally of the U.S. in the Middle East, confirming once again that the new U.S. administration gives priority in everything to Israel, enemy of the Arabs.

SENATE DECISION TO RESUME AID TO PAKISTAN NOTED

LD151736 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0610 GMT 15 May 81

[TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Yegorov report]

[Text] Washington, 15 May (TASS)--On Thursday the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted a proposal to resume economic aid to Pakistan. Aid was halted in 1979 on the basis of the so-called "Symington amendment," which bans the granting of aid by the administration to any country which has a program of nuclear arms development. The Senate committee has now decided to exclude Pakistan from the amendment's sphere of application.

This decision was adopted despite the warning a few days ago by Senator Alan Cranston that Pakistan would speed up the implementation of its nuclear arms development program and may carry out atomic bomb tests in the next 18 months.

The Senate committee's decision will enable the U.S. administration to grant economic aid to the tune of $100 million in the 1982 fiscal year. At the same time the Reagan administration is preparing for an enormous input of military aid to Pakistan. It is believed that the total sum of military aid to Pakistan will amount to $2.5 billion in the next 5 years. For this sum Pakistan will be supplied with F-15 and F-16 fighter-bombers, helicopters and other weapons. The United States intends at the same time to use Pakistan as a support base for military operations in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf region.

CIA ACCUSED OF EXTENSIVE SUBVERSION IN INDIA

LD151103 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 30 April publishes on page 3 under the rubric "Terrorism. Made in USA" under the headline "The Tracks Lead to the CIA" a 1,600-word article by A. Khokhlov claiming that by "kindling separatist feelings" among tribal leaders and provoking "acts of terrorism aimed against the lawful Indian Government" the CIA is seeking to achieve "the secession of the northeastern territories from the Indian Union." Noting that "U.S. intelligence has recently been making active use of bandits who have fled from Afghanistan as its henchmen," Khokhlov also mentions "cooperation between the U.S. and Chinese special services" in the area and goes on to describe the activity of "U.S. specialists in carrying out subversive operations" throughout India. "The true organizers and leaders of the extensive network of agents, couriers and informers" in India "prefer to acquire diplomatic passports," he says, and continues: "The U.S. magazine COVERT ACTION cites as an example a typical biography for such an agent-diplomat, one William (V.) Douglas: "Born 31 October 1933, Tennessee. Joined CIA 1955. From 1959 through 1963 worked at U.S. Embassy in Syria, then at CIA Headquarters. In 1964 was in Beirut as attache, studied Arabic. In 1966 transferred to Jiddah (Saudi Arabia). In 1969--headquarters again. In 1971--Beirut again, and so forth. In 1979 he was at the U.S. Embassy in Delhi, ranking second in the local CIA hierarchy."

These are the sort of people, Khokhlov continues, who "plan and ensure the implementation of extensive subversive programs against the Indian Government and the independent policy it pursues." He goes on to mention the "dummy pseudoscientific organizations" which serve as a front for the CIA, and notes that former U.S. ambassador to India, D.P. Moynihan "has admitted that his compatriots used the direct financing of political parties which suited them 'on only (!) two occasions.'"

DISPUTE OVER JAPAN-U.S. 'ALLIANCE' REPORTED

OW170221 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1400 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] The word "alliance" included in the Japan-U.S. joint communique has caused repercussions among Japanese politicians. The following is a dispatch by correspondent Tsvetov from Tokyo:

It appears to be a very difficult task for the government to pacify the aroused public opinion. The people are aware of the fact that Prime Minister Suzuki personally told U.S. reporters of Japan's readiness to take on the defense burden for sea areas far away from its coast. They also know that the ranking officials of the Foreign Ministry are of the view that the Japan-U.S. "alliance" has a military aspect. Furthermore, it has been reported that the U.S. Government interprets the word "alliance" as having political, economic and military aspects. Nevertheless, the Japanese ruling circles, with a view to appeasing public opinion, insists that it does not mean an expanded military role for Japan in its relations with the United States.

On the other hand, however, the Japanese Government has clearly demonstrated--with specific deeds of its own--the real meaning of this new development in the relations with the United States.

A Japan-U.S. joint naval exercise, the largest in the past 10 years, began several days ago. It will continue through 23 May, involving a sea area of 52,000 square kilometers and 37 warships and 50 aircraft. Countries facing the Sea of Japan will evidently regard it as nothing but an aggressive expression of the Japan-U.S. military alliance.

When it was discovered that an Osaka firm had been exporting parts for trench mortars to South Korea, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry expressed strong anger as if it were motivated by righteous indignation. At present, however, the government is looking for a loophole in the law to export large-scale (?aircraft carriers) to the United States. The Japan-U.S. alliance even made Japan revise its position regarding arms export.

The Japanese Government made public on 15 May its view that Japan can take necessary actions against ships of a country helping the enemy. It makes one recall the 1940's when the Japanese Imperial Navy sank merchant ships of the USSR which, in coopeation with the United States and Britain, was fighting fascism. Japan then violated the treaty of neutrality with the Soviet Union. It now is trampling underfoot another legal document--its own Constitution.

Whatever the Japanese ruling circles may say to justify the word "alliance" in the Japan-U.S. joint communique, facts clearly show that the Japan-U.S. military alliance, which continued to shape its concrete outline following the 1978 enactment of a Japan-U.S. defense cooperation guideline, has now become an official fact.

COMMENTS ON HAIG'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO BEIJING

OW151810 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1230 GMT 15 May 81

[Shakov commentary]

[Text] Commenting on U.S. Secretary of State Haig's forthcoming visit to Beijing, the U.S. paper DAILY NEWS points out: The very purpose of his visit is to convince the Beijing leaders to play a more active role in the Kampuchean issue.

In this connection, station commentator Shakov elaborates on the consequences that this U.S. foreign policy may bring to China. Of late the course of events indicated that a despicable plan is being carried out by Washington to create conflicts in Asia in an attempt to launch an undeclared proxy war against the Asian people. Judging from all indications, the Beijing leaders are supposed to play a major role in relation to this plan. Actually, the Chinese leaders have willingly taken over this role by interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

The U.S. paper DAILY NEWS points out: During his visit to China, Haig will make clear once again how the Beijing leaders should step up military interference under the condition of preserving Washington's political leadership. In short, it means that the war should be carried out by Beijing under Washington's leadership.

Countless press reports show that all kinds of mercenary bandit troops have been trained in special bases established in Chinese territory to rig up the so-called anti-Kampuchea shock forces. It seems that Haig attempts to coordinate with the Chinese leaders in legalizing the infiltration by the Pol Pot gang; in other words, to rig up the united front of Pol Pot, Son Sann and Sihanouk, and the butcher Pol Pot will still remain as a major military force in Kampuchea after the establishment of this front. However, they need Son Sann and Sihanouk to cover up their activities.

History shows that it is not only disgraceful but also dangerous to act on behalf of other's interests. U.S. imperialism was defeated in its military adventure in Vietnam. Since then U.S. imperialism has always been afraid to have a direct confrontation with the Southeast Asian people. Therefore, U.S. imperialism has decided to use the Beijing leaders. The very purpose of U.S. Secretary of State Haig's visit to Beijing is to discuss the role of Beijing leaders in promoting the U.S. plan.

MATYASH SCORES HAIG'S 'INSTIGATORY' STATEMENTS

LD171546 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 17 May 81

[TASS observer Vladimir Matyash: "Contrary to the Dictates of the Times"]

[Text] Moscow, 17 May, TASS--U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig is continuing a series of instigatory, militaristic statements in the cold war spirit.

His address at Hillsdale College in Michigan state, like his previous statements, has been a reflection of the line of the U.S. administration for confrontation with the Soviet Union, for heightening tensions and build-up of the arms race.

The U.S. secretary of state advocated a further build-up of the military might of the USA and restoration of its leadership abroad. "The United States," he said, "must be strong enough to restrain the Soviet Union and restore American leadership" in the world. Behind these bombastic phrases is nothing else but the striving of the ruling circles of the United States to impose U.S. imperialist rule on the world in conformity with Washington's global expansionist ambitions, while disregarding and flouting the legitimate rights and interests of other countries and peoples.

As is seen from Haig's speech, Washington has chosen the notorious positions of strength and attainment of military supremacy policy as the main instrument for the implementation of these hegemonic aims. In saying so, the U.S. secretary of state called for "toughness" and "firmness" towards the Soviet Union. Moreover, he dragged out of the dust heap of history the notorious term of "restraining" the Soviet Union, which was once used by Dulles. "We must act to restrain the Soviet Union...." Haig declared: "The improvement of our military capabilities, despite the cost, underlines our resolve in dealing with the Soviet Union." He also speculated that "keeping the Soviet Union in check was imperative to America's effort to restore its position of leadership."

It is common knowledge that in trying to justify this line the USA has recourse to "Soviet menace" allegations.

The Washington administration's war-like statements and militaristic preparations are a source of concern and discontent among the circles of sober-minded public in the USA. The other day a group of members of the House of Representatives from the Democratic Party strongly criticised the administration in the report to the Congress on the U.S. foreign policy in the course of the first one hundred days of the Reagan administration.

All the moves taken by the Reagan administration until now, the report says among other things, cannot but be a source of alarm. The new administration far from being able to formulate clearly its objectives and policies in any of the main regions of the world, has repeatedly changed its course. And in general there is an impression that policy is feverishly improvised without a general idea of its aims or trend. The report points out.

Characteristically, the foreign policy of the U.S. administration, its reluctance to respond positively to the latest peace initiatives of the USSR are also criticized in the report of the International Strategic Research Institute which was published in London the other day. It notes, in particular, the inconsistency and fluctuations of the administration on the question of detente, which, as is known, was for almost a decade a dominating trend of the present day world development. Neither the preceding nor the new administration, the report points out in this connection, has had any clear and coordinated concept to this core. This ambiguity concerns both the aims and means of preservation of detente, and if it is not overcome in some measure, it is hard to hope either for a consistent U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union or effective coordination of East-West relations in the Western alliance.

At the same time, the authors of the report admit, the Soviet leadership produces the impression of being inclined to consistency: In his report at the 26th Congress of the CPSU in February 1981, Leonid Brezhnev again declared the necessity of improving East-West relations and called for holding a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting without preliminary conditions. It seems wrong to see in the Soviet Union's proposal on new arms control measures only some propaganda efforts, the report says.

One cannot help asking in this connection: Is not it high time to give up the reckless policy of whipping up war hysteria, which may lead the USA to a catastrophe, and act in a constructive direction of developing cooperation and mutual understanding among nations, for the benefit of peace and detente? As only such a course meets the most cherished aspirations of the peoples of the world, including the American peoples.

HAIG MEETING WITH 'IMPOSTER MRS SHCHARANSKIY' HIT

LD151414 Moscow TASS in English 1359 GMT 15 May 81

[By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 May, TASS--This could well be a good find for bourgeois press organs which would fall for any rotten anti-Soviet sensation: Setting aside his business, the U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig had an audience with a certain Madam Shcharanskaya and even, reportedly, promised her to "intercede" on behalf of her husband to achieve his release since her husband, as is known, was condemned by a Soviet court in 1978 for espionage and other activities hostile to the Soviet state.

This time around, however, the "sensation" clearly fell flat. What is "Madam Shcharanskaya" is an open secret. It is well-known that that person is not Shcharanskaya but a certain Shtiglits, a crook, who in 1973 left the USSR for Israel. She has never been officially married to Shcharanskiy, which back in the past was officially reaffirmed by the Chief Rabbi of the Moscow Synagogue Yakov Fishman.

Making her appearance in the West, Shtiglits quickly changed both her name and surname and began touring different countries specializing in anti-Soviet slander in a clear bid to get as much limelight as possible....

The self-proclaimed "wife" of Shcharanskiy, who is being actively used by Zionist centres, has insolence and adventurism enough and to spare, and the fact that she has embarked on a "tour" of Washington comes as no surprise. What is surprising is why and for what purpose should such a high-ranking official as Alexander Haig be hob-nobbing with a patent swindler. The fact is that, as it would seem, different kinds of swindlers are already in more than plentiful supply in the United States proper and there is no need to spend extra time on foreign visitors, especially if one takes account of the fact that meetings with such "travellers" do not add to the prestige of a U.S. secretary of state.

REAGAN CONFIRMS GENERAL ROGERS TENURE IN POST

LD161706 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] Washington, 16 May, TASS--U.S. President Ronald Reagan has prolonged for another two years the office of General Bernard Rogers as commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe. Rogers, who was appointed to the post by President Carter, simultaneously remains the supreme allied commander, Europe.

WEINBERGER TOUR, PRESSURE ON NATO ALLIES HIT

LD161632 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 16 May 81

[Report by TASS correspondent Yu. Levchenko]

[Text] Washington, 16 May, TASS--U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has returned from his West European trip, in the course of which he participated in the work of the session of the NATO Military Planning Committee in Brussels and also visited Britain and Portugal.

The trip of the chief of the Pentagon is appraised by the observers as another link in the chain of feverish efforts, being undertaken by the Ronald Reagan administration in whipping up international tension and anti-Sovietism, in escalating the arms race, "cementing" old and forming new military blocs and alliances with a view of invigorating imperialism's gendarme functions in the international scene.

As was reported by the American press, Weinberger's task was to get from U.S. West European allies confirmation of the obligation, imposed upon them by Washington, to carry out the program of "modernisation" of the NATO military forces through an annual rise in military expenditures by a minimum of three percent, and also support for the U.S.-long nurtured plans of deployment of about 600 up-to-date medium-range nuclear missiles on West European territory.

In a bid to further its militaristic aims, which encounter the growing resistance of the West European public, the U.S. defense secretary resorted to an intensified pressure upon the allies, to intimidation of them with the hackneyed myth of the imaginary "Soviet threat." As was noted by the CBS television company, in his speeches at the Brussels session Weinberger painted "a very grim picture of Western security". He intimidates West European governments with Soviet "aggressive intensions." As is noted by the American press, these tactics of unceremonious arms twisting brought certain results. The newspaper Washington STAR writes that Weinberger is returning to Washington with a communique which enshrines the obligation of the NATO allies not only to ensure an annual three-percent rise in military expenditures in the next four years, but also to take steps towards building up production of armaments, establishment of additional military bases and structures and increasing the strength of the armies, despite the budget restrictions.

The CBS television company point out that these obligations are the result of Washington's "unprecedented pressure" and that privately many West European parties to the Brussels meeting "expressed serious doubt" as to feasibility of the aims that were set. The newspaper Washington STAR writes that the public resistance not only to a rise in military expenditures, but also to plans of modernisation of the NATO nuclear forces, is mounting in a number of NATO member-countries. Such sentiments are particularly strong in the Netherlands and Belgium. They are growing in West Germany and even in Britain.

U.S. 'OVERT INTERFERENCE' IN FRENCH AFFAIRS VIEWED

LD152238 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1613 GMT 15 Apr 81

[Text] Washington, 15 May (TASS) -- The U.S. administration is stopping not far short of overt interference in the internal affairs of France in connection with the outcome of the French presidential elections. The U.S. State Department has issued a statement stressing that the administration "will closely watch the development of events in France," particularly the process of forming and the composition of the new French Government.

Meanwhile, a White House spokesman told journalists that the prospect of communists being included in the French Government "is something which would attract the attention" of the administration of R. Reagan and oblige it to make a careful study of the situation.

R. Allen, the presidential assistant for national security, has also spoken on the same subject. In an interview with Paris MATCH, he said: "We are carefully analyzing the program of your new government. Our review of areas of common interest will depend on which ministers are appointed and the policy they follow."

As if providing an additional pointer to the meaning of these statements by representatives of the U.S. administration, the U.S. mass media stresses the view that official Washington is implacably hostile toward participation by communists in the leadership of states which are North Atlantic bloc allies. For example, the New York TIMES writes that all U.S. administrations are "as a rule opposed to the inclusion of communists in the governments of allied countries."

This is, therefore, a deliberate campaign, a case of unambiguous interference by Washington in what are purely French domestic affairs. In itself this is a violation of the sovereign rights of France.

VOTE ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN ANGOLA NOTED

LD160920 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 15 May 81

[Vadim Borisov commentary]

[Text] The American Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved the lifting of the ban on American intelligence activities in Angola. The ban, enforced under the Clark Amendment, was introduced after the intervention in Angola staged by the American secret service in 1976 and when it ended in a shameful failure. Obviously now the American administration has decided to ignore the implications of this scandal. The resolution adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under pressure from the Reagan administration is aimed at providing legal grounds for the supplies of American arms to terrorist bands supported by South Africa and operating against the Angolan Government. The proclaimed intentions of the American administration--which, it seems, has a lot to say about the need to combat international terrorism--with regard to Angola has caused concern and indignation throughout the world.

The international community has sufficient evidence from the events in South Korea, El Salvador, Uruguay and Chile to doubt the exact use [as heard] of arms supplied by Washington. According to the Angolan press, the Reagan administration is returning to the policy of open aggression and terror pursued in 1975 and 1976. In this connection many observers recall the sinister part played by the CIA in the Angolan events at the time. According to a statement made by the former head of the CIA branch in Angola, Colonel Stockwell, the CIA sponsored the leader of the Unita terrorist group, Jonas Savimbi, in a bid to provoke a civil war in Angola and ultimately install in power in that country a neocolonialist regime obedient to Washington. But the Angolan MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Party of Labor, supported by the masses, foiled the imperialist plan.

The move of the Foreign Relations Committee goes to show that the so-called new African policy of the Reagan administration pursues the same imperialist goal. Washington has declared its intention to reach this goal by brute force and covert subversion.

APPROVAL OF SALE OF ILLEGALLY-HELD CSSR GOLD HIT

LD151710 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1130 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Washington, 15 May (TASS)--The Senate Finance Committee has approved a bill allowing the sale of CSSR gold reserves illegally held by the United States since the war. Thereby a real step has been taken on the road of most blatent violation of international law.

The gold in question was seized by the Nazis during the war and taken to Hitlerite Germany. According to the decisions of the 1946 Paris Peace Conference, adopted by the so-called trilateral commission of representatives of Great Britain, France and United States, the gold should be returned in full to CSSR--24.5 tons in ingots and old coins.

However, the Czechoslovak people have so far received only an insignificant portion of what by law belongs to them.

Just over 18 tons of the precious metal is still being held by the United States. In an attempt to "lay a basis" for its illegal act the United States has raised the false pretext of recompensing American "citizens and firms" in relation to nationalized property. The U.S. is totally ignoring the fact that the CSSR has more than once expressed readiness to afford certain compensations for nationalized American property. In 1964 and 1974, drafts of appropriate agreements were worked out with the United States, but were blocked by Washington.

The American authorities, in their openly piratical actions, are prepared to go even further. Instead of immediately returning the gold, to which they have no right, the United States, in accordance with the bill, are planning... to sell it to CSSR at market prices.

However, the Washington POST points out that if this "proposal" is turned down by the Czechoslovak Government, the gold reserves will be offered on the open market.

Such an act of international financial banditry has, in the opinion of observers, a quite specific underlying political motive. In whipping up international tension, the American administration is clearly striving to return the world to the times of the cold war and is stopping at nothing to provoke an even greater exacerbation of relations with the socialist states. As the Washington POST admits, approval of the bill is an obvious attempt to put pressure on Socialist Czechoslovakia.

Some time ago, when discussion of this bill in Congress had only just begun, the New York TIMES writing of the legal side of the matter, quoted State Department opinion that "the United States would be committing an illegal act if it sold the gold, which should be returned to Czechoslovakia."

FOREIGN POLICY WILL 'INEVITABLY' LEAD TO CONFLICT

LD151752 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 15 May 81

[Yuriy Soltan commentary]

[Text] Is there any way to remove a threat of a new war or overcome the present dangerous turn in world affairs? Different answers are given to this question worrying each of us. In Washington, for example, the main stakes are put on strength, moreover, on the attainment of a military superiority over the Soviet Union. The military budget for 1982 fiscal year just approved by the American Senate is expected to serve well for this purpose. It provides for the modernization of practically all old weapons and the development of new systems of weapons from conventional to nuclear. Part of that policy are the latest NATO decisions dictated by Washington. They call for speeding up the deployment of some 600 American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. This would give NATO a 50 per cent superiority in those arms.

Washington officials do not even conceal why all this is being done. They declare openly that the United States must secure for itself an opportunity to play a leading part in the world. In other words, to ensure an opportunity to impose its will on other states, including the socialist countries.

For any realistically minded person it is clear that such a policy will inevitably lead to a military confrontation, to a nuclear conflict above all.

If topical international issues, and first and foremost the question of nuclear arms limitation, are to be resolved, attempts should be given up to dictate conditions to each other, and a genuine will to peace and mutual respect of each other's interests should be demonstrated. This is the approach the Soviet Union favors. This approach was spelled out in a complex of proposals put forward at the recent 26th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. These proposals are not a propaganda gimmick but the way to achieve mutually acceptable understanding on the limitation of nuclear and conventional arms and the closure of seats of military tension in Europe and the Middle East and elsewhere. They are an invitation to a broad international dialogue, an opportunity to meet the Soviet Union halfway. We do not claim to monopolize the cause of peace, President Brezhnev declared in Kiev, speaking on Victory Day. We are for an extensive dialogue. Any constructive idea will be welcomed by our side, President Brezhnev said.

The Soviet Union officially declared on many occasions that it is ready to enter into talks on any issue, at any level and without any preliminary conditions. Naturally one rule should be strictly observed: Negotiations should be carried out on the basis of the strict observance of the principle of equality and equal security. The stake on strength and war in relations to the socialist countries would be sheer madness.

There is only one reasonable alternative to this policy: peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation. This is the road that the Soviet Union invites the Western powers to step on.

PERFORMANCE OF NEW ADMINISTRATION ASSESSED

LD151543 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 19, 8 May 81 pp 8-9

[Correspondent Yu. Gudkov dispatch: "Tough Uncertainty"]

[Text] New York--It is 100 days since the inauguration of the new U.S. administration. This is traditionally a time to sum up the first results and also a time to make the first forecasts, which now, after more than 3 months, can be based not on shaky election promises but on specific decisions and programs.

The claims to the "new beginning" that R. Reagan promised Americans at his inauguration look invalid, to say the least. At the same time the changes taking place in the country are certainly considerable and are evidence of a sharp turnabout in policy. The clearest indication of this is provided by the draft budget for fiscal 1982, currently before Congress. The same goes for the series of administrative directives signed by the President. Deprived of their propaganda wrapping, these documents betray the administration's true intentions—and not just for next fiscal year.

Priorities are being revised. The official explanation of the sharp reduction of appropriations for social programs is a desire to eliminate the multibillion-dollar budget deficit, which is a spur to inflation. The explanation is convenient in that inflation has indeed become the "number one enemy" for Americans. However, it is simply invalid. The abandonment of social commitments and spending is being accompanied by an unprecedented growth in military appropriations. Those are two sides of the same coin. The needs of the Pentagon and its contractors are being openly given priority over the needs of the aged and the unemployed.

The reduction in social spending, like the proposal for a 30-percent tax reduction over 3 years, signifies a transfer of funds from the public sector to the private sector. George Gilder, author of the recent book "Wealth and Poverty," has been declared the main expresser of the Republicans' views. Gilder says: "All the indications are that what liberals are seeking is prosperity without the rich. However, success in an economy depends on the increase in the number of rich, on the creation of a large class of people prepared to take risks.... The most successful entrepreneurs give society much more than they themselves take." Thus a society's prosperity is ensured through an unlimited increase in the wealth of a handful of entrepreneurs, the "calculation" being that society will get something out of this.

Another innovation is the abolition of government control (already limited) over the activities of the major monopolies and the abandonment of restrictions in the spheres of environmental conservation, price-setting, rents, and so forth.

While J. Carter constantly gave way under pressure from an influential and skillfully operating group of "hawks" and business bigwigs "prepared to take risks," the new administration has declared the "rearming of America" and also the curtailment of social programs to be the basis of its long-term policy. The main results of R. Reagan's first 100 days essentially boil down to this.

In itself the military budget for next fiscal year does not greatly exceed the previous administration's "projections." However, the new administration has elaborated a 5-year military program under which the growth in spending is truly unprecedented.

The President has made four speeches to Congress or televiewers (the most recent was on 28 April); however, these have all been devoted to proposals in the economic sphere. But while the economic program is all more or less clear, there are still many questions about the Cabinet's foreign policy course. The press has categorized Secretary of State A. Haig's 24 April speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors as a keynote speech. "Efforts to strengthen America's economic and military capabilities," the secretary of state declared, "provide the foundation for an American diplomacy that pursues the following aims: restraining the Soviet Union; strengthening our alliances and our friends; and a more effective approach to the developing states."

However, specialists failed to find even the semblance of a program in A. Haig's speech. All they noted was the tough tone and bellicose rhetoric.

Three months has proved not to be enough time for nominations to key State Department posts to be approved. According to American press assessments, the State Department desks connected with the Foreign Service are working "in a state of total confusion." On arms control issues the new leaders of State Department desks are notable for their "persistent indecision." Meanwhile ambassadors' attempts to clarify the new administration's intentions "are proving extremely disappointing." "The administration has no policymaking apparatus," the Washington POST states, "or indeed any policy at all unless you count the negative aspect." The paper explains: "It is clear what the new administration is against, but it is still unknown what it is in favor of."

In one of his rare remarks on foreign policy issues during the election campaign, R. Reagan declared: "As president, I will immediately begin talks on SALT III. My goal is to embark on arms reduction. My energy will be directed toward reducing the devastating nuclear weapons in the world...."

At the same time Reagan resurrected the cliche of cold war times: "Peace through strength." On the same occasion, during the election campaign, he declared: "We have heard the phrase 'peace through strength' so many times that its significance has been eroded by frequent use. The time has come for America to return to the fundamental meaning that lies behind those words.... We must build a peace based on strength."

The new U.S. leadership's demands and bellicose statements paved the way for military appropriations of unprecedented size and herald a new round in the arms race. On the other hand the promise to voters in the sphere of arms limitation was immediately reviewed. Back in January the secretary of defense announced that there should be no hurry over SALT talks and that it would be at least 6 months before the administration found it possible to speak out on this issue. At his first press conference as secretary of state, A. Haig declared: "The United States cannot consider talks to formulate arms control agreements or the ratification of those agreements without taking into account considerations of Soviet behavior or activeness outside the arms control sphere." The sole purpose of these "linkages" is to undermine the basis for talks. For it is well known that the USSR, as a sovereign state, will accept no preliminary conditions or American standards of "behavior." Washington's attitude toward talks may also be shown by the recent appointment (again, 3 months late) of Eugene Rostow to the post of director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Professor Rostow of Yale University is better known as one of the leaders of the "Committee on the Present Danger," which headed the rightwingers' fight against ratification of the SALT II treaty.

It is easy to see that the revival of the "Soviet threat" myth derives from a gamble on force. However today this derivative is determining Washington's entire line of conduct in the foreign policy sphere. The observer R. Steele writes: "The administration's foreign policy is simple and straightforward. It is called anti-Sovietism. That is the lens through which any problem in the outside world is viewed."

The struggle against "international terrorism," which, to hear A. Haig speak, is backed by--once again--the Soviet Union, was announced as the first major foreign policy action. Journalists rushed off to the CIA and the State Department for facts capable of bolstering these claims. But they returned emptyhanded. "There is no real evidence of this," wrote a New York TIMES correspondent, citing the remark of an anonymous official representative.

Later things took a simply scandalous turn. Immediately after A. Haig's statement that the Soviet Union "is training, financing and arming" international terrorists, a special group was set up in the CIA. It was supposed to corroborate this claim. At the end of March it transpired that the report that had been submitted effectively admitted the absence of the desired facts. An incensed CIA director ordered that a new and more suitable report be prepared. Meanwhile, on 26 April, FBI Director William Webster stated that the institution in his charge "has no real evidence" of this claim.

For the moment the activeness of the struggle against "international terrorism," as Washington understands it, has faded markedly. On the other hand there has been a sharp increase in concern at the revival of the times of a general "witch hunt." We have growing misgivings at the direction that has been chosen in the work of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism (specially created under the Senate Judiciary Committee--Yu.G.)," says an "American Civil Liberties Union" spokesman. "We have no confidence that certain of its members will not choose to portray those who disagree with government policy as terrorists, foreign agents or communist dupes. It is McCarthyism, and we are against it."

Another major foreign policy action was the ballyhoo kicked up over "Soviet interference in Salvadoran affairs." This has now been practically forgotten, the reason being, once again, untenability. However, the aim of these actions is not only to inflame anti-Sovietism. An attempt is being made to distort the true meaning of events and to portray actions in favor of social changes as a Soviet-American confrontation in the cold war spirit so as to have a free hand for military intervention should the need arise. The statement of Washington's readiness to give open military aid to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries was made at the height of this campaign. "Let us not delude ourselves," R. Reagan said. "The Soviet Union is behind all the disturbances taking place in the world." This is, of course, a very convenient formula when it comes to the adoption of interventionist schemes.

This theory is having no particular success outside Washington. During the recent NATO Council session Secretary of Defense Weinberger tirelessly went on about the same thing. In Bonn he delcared in plain terms: "If the movement away from cold war toward detente is progress, allow me to say that we cannot permit ourselves too much progress." The effect that this remark produced on the West Europeans, who can see the real fruits of detente in the lessening of tension and the development of mutually advantageous ties, was certainly not that intended by the speaker. As a result, the press reports, the "gulf between the United States and Europe" widened. The New York TIMES remarked in this connection: "Officials privately admit that the whole problem is that high-ranking administration representatives are making policy statements before they have sat down with their assistants and thought out their policy line." All this "tough uncertainty" in the administration's foreign policy course is causing misgivings not only abroad, but also inside the country. "The obsession with military might," the latest issue of the journal FOREIGN POLICY writes, "may cause an increase in inflation or, if the obsession requires a sharp reduction in social services or leads to dubious military intervention abroad, it may destroy the extremely artificial consensus that swept Carter aside and generate further political upheavals."

GLEBOV COMMENTS ON CHINA'S ANTI-SOVIET STAND

OW162015 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to China 1100 GMT 16 May 81

[Glebov commentary]

[Excerpts] The political line formulated by Beijing for the very purpose of maintaining tension in Sino-Soviet relations is actually one of the most important factors of its entire provocative policy in the world arena. Beijing's leaders have no intention whatsoever of restoring good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. They have expressed their opinion on this issue quite undisguisedly. For instance, Deng Xiaoping had not only repeated on several occasions in the past but has also pointed out recently that there can be no improvement in Sino-Soviet relations unless the Soviet Union abandons the fundamental principle of its own foreign policy.

What is the meaning of Deng Xiaoping's remark? Foreign commentators pointed out that the meaning of the remark is very clear, that is, the ruling clique of Beijing has deliberately put forward a condition which can never be accepted by the Soviet Union. In other words, the Beijing leaders try to maintain a tense situation in Sino-Soviet relations.

One may draw a conclusion from the political views of the Chinese leaders--Zhongnanhai's line of confrontation with the Soviet Union is closely linked with its global policy and its line in foreign affairs. To expound and prove their anti-Soviet principle, the Chinese leaders talk repeatedly and lengthily about the so-called "Soviet threats" against peace. To this end, they have shamelessly called on Western countries to immediately launch a tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet Union. This shows clearly that the line of confrontation with the Soviet Union is actually an organic component of Beijing's global strategy, which aims at opposing detente.

Meanwhile, Beijing's leaders have also left no stone unturned in their attempt to sow dissension between the imperialist countries and the Soviet Union. The question is not how Deng Xiaoping and his partners have adopted all possible means to step up arms race and encourage Western militarist cliques to take action against world peace. Actually, the important question lies in the provocative nature of the Beijing ruling clique's policy that aims at disarming the world people ideologically and at imposing Mao Zedong's fallacious theory of the inevitability of world war upon the masses of people the world over. Therefore, it is not too difficult to understand why Beijing's leaders have refused to improve Sino-Soviet relations.

We have every reason to believe that it is very important for the Beijing leaders to include the step of aggravating Sino-Soviet relations into their domestic policy. Now China's military spending accounts for nearly 50 percent of the national budget. To defend such a huge military cost to the masses, what the Beijing leaders truly need is not to restore good-neighbor relations with the Soviet Union but to maintain or even aggravate the hostility between the two countries. The Soviet people believe that this policy of Beijing's leaders absolutely runs counter to the aspiration of the Chinese working masses.

Speaking at the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade Brezhnev said: If Soviet-Chinese relations are still frozen, the reason for this has nothing to do with our position. The Soviet Union has never wanted, nor does it now want, any confrontation with China. We follow the course set up by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and would like to build our ties with China on a good-neighbor basis. Our proposals for normalizing relations with China remain open and our feelings of friendship and respect for the Chinese people have not changed.

WESTERN LOANS TO PRC CONSTITUTE 'PAYMENT'

LD152130 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 15 May 81

[TASS Commentator Yevgeniy Verlin: "Behind a Mask of Poverty"]

[Text] Moscow, 15 May, TASS--The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) has completed talks with Beijing's representatives on granting China a loan of 200 million dollars. Earlier the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has satisfied China's request for an easy loan of 550 million dollars "to support the economic readjustment programme."

What are the reasons for the IBRD's and the IMF's generosity towards Beijing? A flow of loans and credits to China from Western countries both on a bilateral basis and through different international organisations is a "payment" of sorts for Beijing's anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist policy.

To camouflage the true objectives of this aid, the West is now playing up China in every way as "a poor developing country." The large-scale admission of their "poverty", the U.S. newspaper Baltimore SUN has pointed out, promises the Chinese billions of dollars in easy loans or even in direct subsidies. According to IMF experts, China will, perhaps, request annual aid from the fund to the tune of about 2,000 million dollars.

Incidentally, the "poor" Chinese joined the IMF and the IBRD in March last year, and just a month later launched in the Pacific ballistic missiles capable of hitting targets at a distance of 7,000 miles. A few months later China tested in the atmosphere a powerful nuclear device, the radioactive fallouts from which affected Japan, the U.S. and some other countries.

The secret of these achievements of "poor" China is simple: by artificially freezing the living standards at the lowest possible level (China is the 125th in the world in the per capita income), the Beijing leadership have long led their country to the third place in the world in military spending.

While spending annually about 20,000 million yuans on weaponry, China has at the same time become a rival to the developing countries in seeking aid from international organisations. Last January, for instance, the IBRD leaders promised China its first loan, while denying a loan to India virtually at the same time.

According to an admission of the IBRD's President Robert McNamara, as a result of loans to China credits to other countries will be drastically reduced, which will seriously undermine their economic programmes.

One does not need particular sharpness to realize that the considerable funds laid out by the IBRD and the IMF for China will facilitate the implementation of the Beijing leaders' militarist programmes.

JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER'S RESIGNATION VIEWED

LD161750 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 16 May 81

[TASS correspondent Viktor Zatsepin report]

[Text] Tokyo, 16 May, TASS--The Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito resigned today. The head of the foreign policy department did so only a week after his return from Washington where together with Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki he took part in negotiations with Ronald Reagan and other leaders of the American administration.

In a joint communique, that was signed upon completion of the negotiations, Japan is known to have undertaken major military obligations. It promised, specifically, to "defend" the sea lanes in the vast area west of the Island of Guam and north of the Philippines, agreed to further build up the military might and to enhance its military role in the Far East.

The overtly bellicose character of the communique evoked sharp criticism in Japan. The opposition in parliament sternly denounced the Japanese Government's desire to assist Washington's dangerous course of heightening confrontation in the world. Even bourgeois mass media expressed serious anxiety over Japan's being involved into the U.S. global adventurist strategy.

On having encountered such resolute criticism, the Zenko Suzuki cabinet started manoeuvring. Statements were made to the effect that the document signed in Washington allegedly does not "imply military aspects".

The resignation of the foreign minister followed after the wrangle in the ruling echelon around the communique. The local political observers appreciated Masayoshi Ito's resignation as a political manoeuvre undertaken by the Liberal Democratic cabinet in order to put down the wave of indignation in Japan with the overtly militaristic course of official Tokyo. The resignation by no means signifies a change in the government's policy. Answering questions of correspondents whether the Japanese Government is going to "improve" the Japanese-American joint communique, the general secretary of the Cabinet of Ministers K. Miyazawa has said that "Zenko Suzuki's position, despite the 'emergency situation' that arose as a result of Masayoshi Ito's resignation, remains unchanged".

BOCHKAREV SEES INCREASED MILITARIZATION OF JAPAN

LD180924 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 17 May 81

[Commentary by Radio Moscow military correspondent General Konstantin Bochkarev]

[Text] The recent visit to Washington of the Japanese prime minister, Suzuki, has demonstrated growing military and political ties between the two countries. For the first time relations between the two countries have been described as those between allies. Many observers point out, therefore, that Washington is trying to put on the same level the United States-Japanese security treaty and the North Atlantic alliance, that is to impose on Tokyo the same burden of allied commitments as is borne by the NATO powers. What is behind this United States strategy? The problem is examined by Radio Moscow military correspondent General Konstantin Bochkarev.

He writes that Washington has long been taking a very favorable view and even encouraged the militarist tendencies that prevail in the policy of Japan. Over the past 5 years, for example, Japan's military spending has risen by nearly 60 percent--up to the unprecedented sum of 2,400 thousand million yen this year. The armed forces of Japan, which have been created by bypassing the Japanese Constitution, participate regularly in joint military exercises with the United States forces and steps have been taken to extend this cooperation to cover the armies of other NATO powers.

This is proved by a classified report on Japan's self-defense and its potential. It was acquired by a representative of the Socialist Party, and its member of parliament Noda made public some of its content. He said the report draws the conclusion that even if Japan uses its own uranium only, she will be able to produce close to 1,000 nuclear bombs within a short space of time. Such plans are in the interests of those Japanese quarters which still entertain hopes of military revenge and large territorial gains in Asia. And such military preparations are naturally in the interests of Japanse arms manufacturers.

As for Washington and Beijing, they try to take advantage of these militarist tendencies in Japanese politics to promote their own objectives of eroding international relaxation and firing up tension in different parts of the world. The United States has turned Japan into a springboard of its expansionist policy in Asia and the Far East. The failure of the United States' aggression in Indochina had demonstrated to the United States leadership that, with the new balance of strength in the world, the United States no longer has the military might that would ensure the implementation of its hegemonic ambition.

But instead of reappraising the obsolescent imperial claims and concept, Washington has obviously decided to pursue those old aims by new means. It was decided to set up a kind of an aggregate force under the United States' domination which would make it possible to dictate political terms to the developing countries and use freely their raw materials and other resources.

Serving as a propaganda cover for these imperialist plans are the old familiar stories about an alleged Soviet threat. To the accompaniment of these stories, Washington is trying to make Japan a participant of its own strategy of aggression against the peoples of Asia. It is intended, for example, to make Japan the major naval sentry of the Pacific. The idea was voiced by the United States presidential national security advisor, Mr Allen. And from a recent interview by the United States Admiral Long for the Japanese ASAHI EVENING NEWS it becomes clear that Washington wants to site new nuclear medium-range missiles not only in Western Europe but also in Asia, and Japan is to be used for siting U.S. cruise missiles.

Washington has been continuing, recently, attempts to make Japan pay more and more for the maintenance of U.S. forces stationed on Japanese soil. Tokyo contributes today close to $1,000 million to the total cost of maintenance, which amounts to $2.4 thousand million. The communique on the latest visit by the Japanese premier to Washington contains the pledge by Tokyo to help reduce appreciably this financial burden of the United States. Reports on the visit indicate that Japan is expected to provide air and naval patrols, including patrols of sea lanes, passing some 1,700 kilometers away from her own shores. That covers a wide region extending to the west of Guam and to the north of the Philippines. Thus, Japan is expected to take over a substantial share of operations performed by the U.S. 7th Fleet, making it possible to move some of its warships to the Indian Ocean.

And just as from its NATO allies, Washington expects Tokyo to provide facilities for depots of military hardware and ammunition for the United States Rapid Deployment Force. In other words, in all these aspects the militarization of Japan and the increase of her role in the United States military strategy can in no way help improve the international political climate in this densely populated part of the world. These tendencies are clearly a threat to the security of many nations, to say nothing of the fact that they contradict the vital interests of the Japanese people, who had experienced the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

KAZAKH MUSLIMS EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH KAMPUCHEA

GF170953 [Editorial Report] Tashkent International Service in Uzbek at 1700 GMT on 15 May carries a commentary entitled: "Solidarity with the Kampuchean Muslims." The radio recalls the efforts the Kampuchean people have made to establish a new life and to achieve a high level of socioeconomic development and adds: "However, hostile elements headed by the U.S. imperialists and PRC criminals are impeding the realization of the international rights of the Kampuchean people. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union and the peoples of socialist countries and other progressive peoples around the world are supporting the Kampuchean people for the establishment of democracy and a new life in their country."

The radio notes that the fact that it makes no difference that the Kampuchean people belong to various religions and adds that the Muslim leadership of Central Asia and the Kazakh SSR has expressed full support for the Kampuchean people's cause. The radio quotes the following statement that was made to one of its correspondents by (Abdulgana) Abdullayev, the deputy religious leader of the Muslims of Central Asia and the Kazakh SSR: "In full compliance with Koranic instructions regarding adherence to justice and righteousness and regarding the necessity of struggling against cruelty and oppression, the Muslims of Central Asia and the Kazakh SSR, together with other Soviet peoples, are supporting the just struggle of the Kampucheans."

The radio also notes (Abdulgana) Abdullayev's strong criticism of the Pol Pot regime, which he says killed 66 percent of Kampuchean Muslims during its rule. He draws attention to the current hostilities against the Kampucheans that are being fanned by U.S. and Beijing leaders. The radio concludes with the following passage from (Abdulgana) Abdullayev's statement: "The Muslims of Central Asia and the Kazakh SSR, who are devoted to the sacred Islamic laws, are fully supporting the Kampuchean Muslims, who are waging a common struggle with other Kampuchean peoples to establish a new life and to safeguard their country's independence. We pray to almighty God that their just struggle is successful."

LAOS' PHOUN SIPASEUT CALLS FOR ASIAN CONFERENCE

LD161704 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 16 May, TASS--Deputy Prime Minister, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Laos Phoun Sipaseut has said in an interview to a TASS correspondent that the aim of his visits to Indonesia and Malaysia is to promote the development of Laos' bilateral relations with those countries, to establish in the region an atmosphere of confidence and mutual understanding, to improve prospects of turning South-East Asia into a region of goodneighbourliness and cooperation. A lot of difficulties are known to have been created on the path of this process. The main obstacle is the expansionist policy of Beijing which is trying to prevent the establishment of a new life in three countries of Indochina, which invariably threatens Vietnam and Laos, conducts subversive activities against People's Kampuchea.

Laos, just as other states of Indochina, favours a constructive and equitable dialogue with the ASEAN member-countries, for renuniciation of the policy of pressure and diktat. It is exactly with this aim that Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea proposed that a regional conference be held on questions of peace and stability in Southeast Asia with the participation of the states of Indochina and the ASEAN member-countries.

NIKOTIN RAPS SOLIDARITY GUIDELINES, THESES

LD151150 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2245 GMT 14 May 81

["Text" of Vladimir Nikotin article in 15 May PRAVDA: "On Ambitions and Responsibility"]

[Text] Moscow, 15 May (TASS)--The Polish press recently published a document entitled "Directions of the Trade Union's Activities in the Present Situation." It was prepared by the "Center for Social-Production Research" attached to the leadership of this trade association.

The appearance of the theses is no ordinary event. The role played by the forces now leading Solidarity at the time the Polish crisis arose and developed is well known. Until recently they had refrained from putting forward their positions on key questions of social life. It has now been decided to reveal something of these positions, to shed light on the political platform of Solidarity, on the tasks which it is setting itself, and on the essence [sushchestvo] of the claims to occupy the place of the leading political force in Polish society.

The authors of the "Directions" do not hide the fact that the choice of timing of the publication is not accidental: It is set in opposition to the draft theses of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] for the ninth extraordinary party congress, and is being presented as a counter to the party's program for the socialist renewal of the country.

The document opens with the words to the effect that Solidarity is "a great social force", "a movement" which "does not evade responsibility for the destiny of our nation and our state." Much is said about the necessity to defend laws, the dignity and interests of the working people, and the rights of man, citizens and employees. It is noted that there is a need to reestablish a normal working rhythm in the country, to ensure higher effectiveness of the economy, to improve the system of distribution of material assets, and so on. The "Directions" abound with general notions, lofty principles and declarations obviously calculated in order to produce a superficial impression.

But as is well known, social-economic documents are not so much assessed on the basis of their wording or style as on the basis of their relation to realities, on the basis of the capacity of their authors to adopt a clear and specific position derived from the interests of the class on behalf of which and in the name of which they speak. What do the "Directions" look like if approached from this angle?

If there were no references in the title and in the test of the theses to Solidarity and if there were no stipulations about the trade union status of this association, then any objective person would have to say that he was dealing with a document of a political organization which is pursuing far-reaching objectives. The document, which runs into many pages, devotes only a few lines to payment and protection of labor, to safeguarding the interests of workers at industrial enterprises, to participation in self-government, to the organization of rest and leisure of people and other similar problems which trade unions are called upon to deal with. The center of attention of the "Directions" covers the fundamental questions of the organization and functioning of the social and political system of the country or, to be precise, its reorganization on principles which have nothing in common with socialism.

The trade union--and it is in precisely this capacity that Solidarity was registered and recognized by the state authorities--is engaged in something which is unnatural [nesvoystvenniy] to it; it is making an ambitious claim, as Comrade S. Kania emphasized at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, to the role of "the only public force" capable of leading Poland out of the crisis.

Solidarity is making a claim to public leadership, to a monopolistic and supreme leadership, to which every other body--the party and the Sejm, the judicial and administrative authorities on the periphery and in the center--are subjugated.

This is how the Polish party press characterizes the aim of the authors of the theses which is to reject the principles which are written into the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and to restructure the statues of Solidarity itself. One cannot disagree with this.

The compilers of the document, who undertake to analyze the situation of the country and society, decide on far-ranging conclusions about the ability of the present social system in the Polish People's Republic to survive, and they are utterly silent about everything valuable and intransient which has been achieved by the people under the leadership of the Polish communists on behalf of Poland's resurrection from the ashes, and of ensuring its reliable borders and high prestige in the world. For its authors, it is as though there never was a war, nor fascism, nor millions of victims, and as though there was no antinationalist policy pursued by the bourgeois regime of the landowners and its patrons who led Poland to the depth of the abyss, to the brink of extinction.

It goes without saying that it is not a case of the authors' forgetfulness, of their not knowing history. They have to avoid mentioning everything that the Polish people have discovered thanks to socialism. They must do this in order to be able to question the leading role of the PZPR, which was recognized by Solidarity when the trade union was registered. Without this--so the authors of the theses obviously assume--it will be even harder to show that allegedly the whole social system is suffering a crisis and that there is an apparently nationwide [word indistinct] crisis calling for a break with the experience of the last 36 years and a return to "the Polish national spirit," which is supposedly being kept in the background.

Where and in what manner would the authors of the document like to take Poland? It is fruitless to seek in the "Directions" even a hint of the role played by certain branches of Solidarity who looked for ways to aggravate the situation in every possible way, to provoke clashes, create chaos, to worsen the economic difficulties and give the crisis its present scale and depth. There is not a whisper about the cost to the Polish people, to each Polish family, of the strikes which have been going on for many months almost without interruption.

Great skill is not required to destroy the economy of any, even the most prosperous and fortunate country, and especially one linked by a system of obligations to the world economy. Nine months ago, when, according to the allegations of the authors of the document, the crisis was already raging in the country, Poland still did not have any ration cards for essential goods. This is not the fault of the system. The responsibility for this lies with the extremist forces of Solidarity itself.

One does not need to be an expert to realize that the state treasury is not a bottomless barrel from which one can draw without giving anything back. In spite of this the idea is being formulated that it is the business of Solidarity to issue ultimatums, backing them up with strikes, while the authorities have to answer for the consequences. In these circumstances it is manifestly inadequate to call such an approach anarcho-syndicalism. The difficulties which have been introduced into the country's affairs are not enough for some people; there are some people who do not intend to be satisfied until complete bankruptcy has been secured. Certain circles in Poland and beyond its borders are linking their hopes for a change of power in the country and for the revision of the political map of Europe to yet another national catastrophe.

The compilers of the "Directions" set out their concept for dismantling the social and political foundation of socialism in Poland in a somewhat veiled manner, packaging it in a demagogic wrapper. Nevertheless, they formulate their demands for changes in the economic sphere quite openly. According to the Solidarity document, the country's economy should function in conformity with the rules of capitalist economics: the competitive struggle, competition between various forms of property, the restoration of the exploitation of the labor of others in the interests of private owners of means of production, encouragement of the private sector of agriculture at the expense of the cooperative sector, and so on.

The issue is not just that these aims directly contradict the Polish Constitution: "The Directions" themselves admit that their implementation would lead in practice to serious social problems, to an "intensification of social differences" and to unemployment.

Socialism has put an end to the blatant class inequality that existed in bourgeois, landowning Poland. Now this most important gain is being placed under threat. The prospects are opening up for a revival of the employment office, for the impoverishment of some and the enrichment of others. What has this got to do with "social justice" to which the authors of these theses are bowing down both where it is appropriate and where it is out of place? It has nothing to do with it, and it is not only social justice that cannot be traced here if people are refused the right to work and to a place as useful members of society and are condemned to being outcasts.

The authors of "The Directions" portray the Polish socialist state as a kind of employer opposed to the working people and with whom it is necessary to quarrel and fight. They are gradually dragging out the "argument" long ago invented in the West and which has, up to now, been unsuccessfully mooted, that allegedly socialist production relations do not differ in any way from capitalist ones, together with the latter's inherent exploitation of labor. Therefore, it is said, there is no reason for the working people to take part in the development and improvement of the socialist economy and to have a concern for its uninterrupted functioning. Consequently, it is possible for those who are in favor of Solidarity to evade answering the question of where the responsibility lies for ensuring normal production, labor activity in the interests of each worker, his family and society as a whole, and for implementing the constitutional right to work. They would evidently like this question to be removed from the agenda and taken out of the framework of discussions in spite of the fact that it is posed by life itself.

The splendid verbal plumage and the pseudodemocratic phraseology are capable of distracting only those who have no objection to being deceived. Donning the garb of "defenders" of the working people, the authors of the theses are foisting upon them an ideology which is fundamentally alien to the class consciousness of workers.

They would like to turn the worker, the leading force of socialist society, into an obedient tool of politicos who dream about the formation of a "supraclass ideology" from "the best traditions of the people, ethical principles of Christianity, political democracy and socialist public thought." At first, they instill into the worker the belief that he can do anything--he only has to "go on strike." But in the end he is deprived of work and has to look for an occupation because the bourgeois system, regardless of variations, is least of all tolerant of those who are disobedient. This is the essence of the scenario for the Polish version of destroying socialism by forces which are hostile to socialism. These same forces are the enemies of the very independence and integrity of the Polish state.

Of the "Directions" set forth by the authors, the main one is an attack on the socialist gains and the rights of the working people, on the PZPR and the foundations of the policy of the Polish People's state. The theses express the sociopolitical creed of those circles in Solidarity which stand beside it or behind its back and which see in the crisis a means to achieve their cherished goal of restoring the bourgeois system.

There is no doubt that the Solidarity spokesmen who put the document forward attach an antisocialist, counterrevolutionary sense to their claim to the role of "main guarantor of the process of renovation", for which there is no "replacement." This is expressed unambiguously enough in the theses themselves: "Either Solidarity will gather its public support, or the system which has existed until now will impose its own norms and aims upon it." Either, or--that is how the task is put. One must make room for the Other; Solidarity and "the existing system" cannot, in the view of the authors of "The Directions," learn to live together.

It has been stressed in the materials of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and in subsequent articles in a number of papers that Polish communists see the path for overcoming the present crisis in the socialist process of renovation and are in favor of it leading to an alliance of all forces to whom the existence of the Polish nation is dear. It has especially been pointed out that such is the platform for cooperation with all trade unions, including naturally, Solidarity.

The content of the "Directions" shows that the activists currently formulating the positions on Solidarity are not prepared to respond to the party's honest and positive course with a similar desire for cooperation in the interests of the Polish people.

The Polish press has reported that the Solidarity document was written by a group of experts, including quite a number of representatives of KSS [Social Self-Defense Committee]--an organization whose counterrevolutionary platform has never been a secret. Now it is becoming even more obvious how influential the ideas of KSS are on various branches of Solidarity, as is the desire of reaction in Poland and abroad to disarm the Polish working people ideologically and organizationally before attempting a decisive assault on the people's power.

Precongress discussion is starting within the PZPR. It demonstrates the will of the communists to see Poland's further movement ahead in cooperation with all the countries of the socialist community. It is precisely the stand of the communists rather than the Solidarity document which reflects the opinion of patriotic, thinking and responsible forces within the Polish nation.

One would like to believe that the communists and working people of Poland will not allow themselves to be drawn away from the only right path--the path of building socialism and of the socialist renewal of their homeland under the leadership of the party of communists.

GRABSKI, KANIA CITED ON SITUATION IN POLAND

LD181121 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 81 p 5

[Tass report: "Meeting in the PZPR Central Committee"]

[Text] Warsaw--A meeting of the first secretaries of party organizations of Polish enterprises was held here with the participation of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR Stanislaw Kania, members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR Kazimierz Barcikowski, Tadeusz Grabski and Stefan Olszowski.

In his opening address Tadeusz Grabski said among other things: We are going toward the Ninth PZPR Congress determined to amend the program and charter so that they better serve a strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist character of the party.

He pointed out the guiding role of the party in the society, spoke about the significance of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum for preparations for the congress. The course of elections in the party, the speaker said, is evidence of the fact that a sense of responsibility among members of primary party organizations is gaining the upper hand. But a source of concern is the fact that there are few workers among those elected to the leading party bodies. Also alarming are the occurrences of withdrawal from the party.

The Polish question, Tadeusz Grabski went on to say, cannot be a subject of intrigues of the imperialist forces against the Soviet Union. Those who would like to contribute to it would objectively act contrary to the vital interests of the Polish people. The task of the whole party and of its members is to oppose such trends.

Various forces are operating in our country, including those which were borne of class interests that are alien to our socialist program or are under the influence of hostile ideology. Propaganda actions, which are broadly carried out by the Solidarity trade union organization, are spearheaded against the forces of public order, weaken our state, create a threat to the security of its citizens.

Tadeusz Grabski touched upon in detail on the economic position of the country and specially stressed the significance of the economic aid, which the fraternal socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, are giving to Poland in this difficult period.

One of the main conditions for ending the present crisis and for a successful economic development of the country in the future, the speaker said, is a reform of the system of functioning of the economy.

The meeting was also addressed by Stanislaw Kania. Analyzing the internal situation in the country, he said: "A process is developing in Poland whose essence is a threat to the gains of socialism. This must be clearly realized. There have always been opponents of the people's power in Poland, which intensified their activity in particularly difficult periods in order to discredit the party, to weaken the bodies of power and of law enforcement. In examining these questions, we must also bear in mind everything that is necessary for restoring confidence in us of partners from other countries, of our trustworthiness as an ally.

"The party must speedily and successfully resolve our difficulties through political methods. This will prove to be practicable if the process of strengthening the cohesion of the party based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, within the framework of the time-tested Leninist structure further develops, if our party is a party of action."

JARUZELSKI CALLS FOR INCREASED ANTICRIME MEASURES

LD151512 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 15 May, TASS—A meeting of the Presidium of the Polish Council of Ministers presided over by Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski was held to discuss questions pertaining to observance of order and public security in Poland.

Addressing the meeting, Polish Minister of the Interior Miroslaw Milewski said that the crime rate had considerably increased recently. During the past four months alone, the minister said, the number of criminal offences had increased by 26 percent, hold-ups by 32 percent and burglaries by 60 percent. Along with it discipline at many mills and factories is declining, black marketeering and parasitism are increasing.

Addressing the meeting, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed the necessity of resolute measures to combat crime and violations of law and order.

The Presidium of the government has decreed that the bodies responsible for the observance of law and order should urgently draw up a specific joint plan of measures.

CONSEQUENCES OF POLISH DESTABILIZATION VIEWED

LD162246 Moscow in Polish to Poland 1800 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] The West German periodical BLAETTER FUER DEUTSCHE UND INTERNATIONALE POLITIK has published an article entitled "A Policy Under Fire." Its subject is the interference of Western mass media and statesmen in the internal affairs of Poland.

The article stresses that such transmitters as those of the BBC, Radio Free Europe and Deutsche Welle not only support the adversaries of socialist Poland but also play the role of smugglers, smuggling across the borders (?instructions) calling for certain political action.

The Polish (?fever) in the Western media was designed from the outset as an action with long-term goals, to compel the state power in Poland to step down and to give a free hand in ideological, political and organizational spheres to the people who would like gradually but fundamentally to change the structure of power and the country's situation in the international arena. They (?wanted) Solidarity to transform itself into an anticommunist opposition. If Solidarity, and above all its rightwing, is regarded as a wedge which could split the political structure of Poland, KSS [Social Self-Defense Committee] is seen as the general staff of an attack against the PZPR and the state.

The FRG mass media have gone very far indeed in their defense of KSS and in their open support for that antistate and antigovernment group, the article stresses. They willingly give their columns over to articles and interviews with leading KSS activists. The publishing might of Springer's empire is the heavy artillery thrown against Poland, its political structure and its communist party.

The Final Act of the Helsinki conference signed by the representatives of 35 states contains an undertaking of noninterference, and a detailed description of what that means. The head of the FRG Government also signed this firm undertaking on 1 August 1977. However, during the Polish events the principle of noninterference was simply thrown overboard, not only by journalists but also--what is much worse--by representatives of the FRG.

It would seem that a foreign minister should carefully choose his words; after all his position obliges him to be careful (?and) circumspect. And yet, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, during the first, peak period of the Polish crisis, declared: We never had doubts that we shall move toward the liberation of Gdansk and Szczecin. It is Bonn which is responsible for the fact that the territory of West Germany has been made available to Radio Free Europe, which supports the antistate forces in Poland, helps them and plays the role of a center of ideological leadership in the struggle against the Polish Government.

[Words indistinct] of Poland is playing a very risky game. Poland does not lie on the political periphery, and it is not a question of a small state. Suffice it to glance at a political map to realize its significance for the European Continent from the viewpoint of the balance of power in that area, so necessary for the cause of peace.

Postwar Poland, with its new social system, surrounded by friendly socialist countries closely linked with the USSR whose armies lost over 600,000 troops in liberating that country, Poland wihin its secure frontiers has become an important factor of the balance of power between the East and West in Europe. Without this we would not have had 36 years of peace in that part of the globe. Any attempt to disturb this balance, putting in doubt the historical process by wrenching Poland from the socialist community, is wrong from the outset and can have dangerous consequences, including for the West, since the destabilization of the political system in Poland would inevitably lead to the destabilization of peace in Europe.

SOVIET, POLISH MEDIA DELEGATIONS MEET IN WARSAW

LD161837 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Jaruzelski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers; Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Rakowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic, received in Warsaw a delegation of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, headed by Lapin.

During meetings between the delegation and the management of Polish radio and television, the parties exchanged information on the activities of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting in the two countries. They also discussed issues connected with the further development of cooperation.

AUCCTU DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR MEETINGS IN WARSAW

LD151157 Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 May 81 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation's Departure"]

[Text] A Soviet trade union delegation headed by AUCCTU Secretary K.Yu. Matskyavichyus left for Warsaw on 11 May at the invitation of the Polish sectorial trade unions conciliation board.

MITTAG LEADS GDR DELEGATION ON MOSCOW VISIT

LD180850 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1750 GMT 17 May 81

[Text] A SED delegation led by Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The visit is aimed at studying the experience of the CPSU in the implementation of decisions of the 26th party congress in the field of economic policy.

USTINOV HOLDS TALKS WITH ROMANIA'S OLTEANU

LD161645 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 16 May, TASS--Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of defense of the USSR, today met Major-General Constantin Olteanu, alternate member of the Politcal Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, Romanian national defense minister. Constantin Olteanu is visiting the Soviet Union at the head of party and state delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, which has arrived to take part in joint activities in the framework of the Intercosmos programme. The talk was held in a friendly atmosphere.

ILIN COMMENTS ON SOVIET-ROMANIAN PARTY, STATE TIES

LD151619 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 19, 8 May 81 pp 14-15

[V. Ilin article: "Traditions of Internationalism"]

[Excerpts] The CPSU and the Soviet people are currently celebrating the 60th anniversary of the formation of the RCP together with the communists and all the working people of Socialist Romania. The activities being held in both countries in this connection will certainly promote the international fraternity of the Soviet and Romanian communists and the cause of raising new generations on the examples of their revolutionary past.

During the years of socialist building the relations between the CPSU and the RCP and between the Soviet Union and Romania found new expression. "For a long time," the RCP Central Committee Political report to the sixth party congress said, "the imperialists used our country as a component part of a 'cordon sanitaire' around the Soviet Union, and later as a springboard for a direct attack on the USSR. That past will return no more." The bankrupt anti-Soviet course of the country's former rulers has been ended.

During the first postwar years, when internal and external reaction were seeking in every possible way to impede the making of the young state, the Soviet Union gave it every possible economic and political assistance and was a defender of Romania's national sovereignty and its positions in the international arena.

Friendship and comradely mutual assistance, equality, mutual respect for independence and noninterference in one another's internal affairs--those are the unalterable norms determining the relations between our two countries. Those principles form the foundation of the Soviet-Romanian friendship, cooperation and mutual aid treaty signed in 1948. The new alliance treaty of 1970, and also the 1976 joint statement are designed to raise the cooperation between the Soviet Union and Socialist Romania to a new, still higher level. In his speech at the 26th CPSU Congress Comrade N. Ceausescu stressed that "the continued, still more powerful development of Romanian-Soviet friendship, cooperation and solidarity will serve the progress and prosperity of both countries' peoples and the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world."

In the last 30 years the volume of trade between the USSR and Romania has increased elevenfold and will be more than R3 billion in 1981. The USSR, which today accounts for one-sixth of the country's trade turnover, is Romania's main trading partner. It supplies Romania with the machines, complete sets of equipment and raw materials so essential to its national economy.

As the Central Committee report to the 26th CPSU Congress and the RCP leadership's speeches note, in order to resolve the increasingly complex tasks it is necessary not only to work still better, more efficiently and in a still more organized fashion but also to make wider use of the other socialist states' experience and to pool efforts and resources as rationally as possible in the interests of each of our countries and of the whole community.

The ultimate basis and living soul of the close Soviet-Romanian cooperation is the cooperation between the CPSU and the RCP. As practice shows, the contacts between L.I. Brezhnev and N. Ceausescu are of particularly great importance.

The socialist community countries' successes give the class enemies no peace. "They," L.I. Brezhnev stressed in his recent speech in Prague, "are trying to do everything possible to impede socialism's onward movement and to erode it from within. All manner of means is used for this: economic pressure and blackmail, false propaganda, cajolery and demagoguery, the support and encouragement of counterrevolutionary forces--where they still exist--and other kinds of subversive action."

Under these conditions the further strengthening of the socialist community countries' cohesion and the pooling of their efforts assume special significance both for the resolution of tasks in socialist building and for the defense of peace. The constant coordination of the fraternal countries' foreign policy course considerably strengthens the effectiveness of their actions in the international arena. A beneficial role in international affairs is played by the activity of the Warsaw Pact, and above all by its Political Consultative Committee. They paved the way for the all-European conference in Helsinki and have put forward a number of new initiatives that have attracted worldwide public attention. The socialist countries' military-political defensive alliance faithfully serves peace and has everything necessary to reliably defend the peoples' socialist gains.

The course of our party's 26th congress, a principled one permeated by the idea of proletarian internationalism, promotes the strengthening of Soviet-Romanian relations as well and creates new opportunities for deepening the cooperation between the CPSU and the RCP and between the Soviet Union and Romania.

MOSCOW BLAMES NATO FOR STAGNATION IN CYPRUS

NC172054 Moscow Radio in Greek to Cyprus 1730 GMT 17 May 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Reports arriving from Nicosia testify to difficulties within the intercommunal talks. President Kiprianou specifically referred to these during the presentation of credentials by the Italian ambassador. Despite all this, our commentator writes, the inter-Cypriot dialogue continues. There is hope that the two sides will demonstrate more flexibility in the search for mutually acceptable solutions. This is what the entire population of the island expects from those participating in the talks, because it is fed up with the long years of uncertainty on the island. Continuation of the Cyprus crisis also causes concern among the broad circles of international public opinion. The Cyprus problem has been on the daily UN agenda for many years. The resolutions approved by the UN General Assembly are aimed at eradicating the Cypriot center of international tension and at smoothing out life on the island. Implementation of these resolutions could open the road for a stable, just and peaceful situation in the Republic of Cyprus. Unfortunately, however, until now most of the UN resolutions on the Cyprus problem remain on paper only.

We have the natural question: Who is to blame for this? Responsibility for nonimplementation of the UN resolutions on Cyprus is primarily to be born by the NATO member countries. Here are only a few examples of how these countries ignore the resolutions: One of the UN resolutions establishes the right of the Republic of Cyprus and its people for absolute and effective control over all the island's territory. Another requires the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and termination of the foreign military presence in the Republic of Cyprus. What do we see in reality? Britain, for example, maintains two military bases in Cyprus, at Dhekelia and at Episkopi, with a total area of 100 square miles. Permanent units of the British Armed Forces are stationed in these bases. Representatives of the Pentagon have now been added to them. Certain other NATO countries also maintain their troops in Cyprus.

On what basis do the NATO countries ignore the voice of international public opinion? It is all evident that Washington and London hold a hyprocritical position toward the Cyprus problem. While in words they support the need for its speedy solution, in action they prevent the process for the stabilization of the situation on the island. It is obvious that this suits them because in this way it is much easier for them to force the Cypriots to accept the NATO alternative for a solution for a settlement of the situation on the island, in other words, to incorporate the island within the network of their bases in the south wing of the alliance. This is the very reason why to date there has been no implementation of the UN resolutions on Cyprus, our commentator concludes.

TURKEY RATIFIES CONTINENTAL SHELF AGREEMENT

LD162216 Moscow in Turkish to Turkey 1400 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] The letters of ratification of the agreement on the demarcation of the continental shelf between the Soviet Union and Turkey were exchanged in Ankara yesterday. The agreement was ratified by the Turkish National Security Council and approved by the Turkish Council of Ministers. A statement from the Turkish Foreign Ministry notes that this agreement was signed on the basis of equality of rights and justice and that it determines the area of jurisdiction of the two countries in the Black Sea.

The agreement amounts to a new expression of the good neighborly and friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey. According to political and social circles in Turkey, the signing of this agreement again proves that there are no problems between the two countries that cannot be settled at the conference table. With the exchange of the letters of ratification, the agreement has taken effect from 15 May 1981.

'FAILURE' OF HABIB MISSION IN RIYADH REPORTED

LD171632 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 17 May 81

[Text] Damascus, 17 May, TASS--P. Habib, special representative of the U.S. President held talks in Riyadh with the leaders of Saudi Arabia. It is reported here that the American emissary failed to achieve success in his efforts to make Saudi Arabia exert pressure on Syria.

During a telephone conversation between Syrian Foreign Minister A. Khaddam and his Saudi counterpart, Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, the latter expressed full support for Syria's position with regard to Israel's provocations as well as the actions of the inter-Arab peacekeeping forces in Lebanon. The Syrian news agency SANA reports. The prince highly assessed Syria's efforts to defend the sovereignty, independence and unity of Lebanon.

Saudi Position on Lebanon

LD181004 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 18 May 81

[Text] Cairo, 18 May, TASS--Saudi Arabia has expressed its support for Lebanon in the latter's struggle against Israeli aggression in a statement by the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Saudi Arabia has reaffirmed its readiness to render assistance to the Lebanese Government and to the inter-Arab peacekeeping forces in Lebanon. The statement, circulated by the MENA news agency, also emphasizes that Riyadh will side with Syria in the event of a possible Israeli aggression against them.

FURTHER COMMENTARY, REPORTAGE ON LEBANESE SITUATION

Krylov Commentary

LD152110 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 15 May 81

[Sergey Krylov commentary from the "Window on the Arab World" Program]

[Text] Foreign news agency reports from Israel say that the aggressors are bringing new forces, heavy artillery and tank units into the region in southern Lebanon occupied by Israel's agent, Sa'd Haddad. Israel is trying to exert direct and indirect military pressure on Syria. Rafael Eytan, the Israeli chief of staff, said that the conflict could be solved without the firing of a single bullet if Syria accepted Israel's conditions; otherwise Israel will take firm action.

At the same time, U.S. special envoy Philip Habib has been trying to exert pressure on Damascus, as was reported by REUTER. During his latest meeting with President Hafiz al-Asad, he did all he could to impose Israel's conditions on Syria. According to SANA, however, Syria rejected this pressure. The agency published a statement by Syrian Foreign Minister Khaddam in which he held Israel responsible for the outcome of an attack on Syria and the Arab Deterrent Force.

The third party to Camp David, President as-Sadat, has joined the campaign of putting pressure on Syria. He spoke at the Egyptian People's Assembly and suggested to Syria a proposal which has surprised the most experienced commentators. His plan for a settlement provides for the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon. In return, he promised Syria, that Israel would abandon its strategic objectives in that region. Indeed the Egyptian president has much personal experience, albeit very sad, in relations with Israel from the aspect of its alleged abandonment of strategic objectives. The Camp David accords opened Egypt's political and economic doors wide open to Israel without a single bullet. This was one of Israel's main strategic objectives in the Middle East. What then is President as-Sadat proposing? The withdrawal of the Arab Deterrent Force from Lebanon would leave the Palestinian resistance movement and the Lebanese nationalist forces alone and at the mercy of Israel, whose foremost strategic objective today is the liquidation of the Palestinian resistance movement. Therefore, it is by no means a coincidence that the Syrian reply to As-Sadat's so-called peace plan is brief and clear: As-Sadat has once again exposed himself as an instrument of Israel's policy in the Middle East.

'Wide Support' for Syria

LD162134 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 16 May 81

[Vladimir Belyakov dispatch from Beirut in the "International Diary" program--recorded]

[Text] The situation in the Near East remains exceptionally dangerous. Threats continue to come from Israel against Syria. These threats are accompanied by intensive preparations by Israeli forces in the border strip of south Lebanon. In the opinion of Radio Damascus, Israel is preparing to strike a blow at the Palestinian resistance movement in Lebanon. It is obvious that all the responsibility for the acute worsening of the situation lies with Israel.

A barrier has been placed in the path of the arrogant pretensions of the Israeli military to rule the skies over sovereign Lebanon. This is what infuriates Begin. He draws conclusions, each one more ridiculous than the last, to support his demand for the withdrawal of Syrian ground-to-air missiles from inter-Arab peace-keeping forces in Lebanon.

The Arab press stresses that Begin's position is in effect being encouraged by the United States. The Saudi paper AN-NADWAH points out that Habib, the special emissary of the U.S. President, is insisting on the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon but gives no guarantees of the cessation of Israeli air raids on the country. The Syrian paper AL-BA'TH writes that Habib's aim is to win time and enable Israel to prepare for further aggression. However, Syria is not giving way to U.S. pressure or Israeli threats. Syria's position has wide support in the Arab world.

Rassadin Comment

LD161718 Moscow in English to South and Southeast Asia 1400 GMT 16 May 81

[Leonid Rassadin commentary]

[Text] Israel continues to mass troops on the border with Lebanon and in the occupied Golan Heights. The possibility of full-scale Israeli aggression cannot be ruled out in the circumstances. At any rate, the Israeli leaders have threatened Syria with military action unless Syrian anti-aircraft detachments are not withdrawn [as heard] from Lebanon. The Israeli rulers lay claim to freedom of aerial activity over Lebanon. They blatantly demand that Syria should withdraw its anti-aircraft units from Lebanon in spite of the fact that these units are there as part of the pan-Arab peace-keeping force approved by the legitimate Lebanese Government.

What decisions would the Israeli command make if Lebanon and Syria sent their planes flying over Israel? In a statement issued in Damascus the Syrian foreign minister, 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, said that Syria rejected Israel's threats and blackmail. He accused the United States of siding with Israel in regarding [as heard] the situation in the Middle East. The United States is adding to the tension in the area. Proof of this is a recent statement by Secretary of State Haig that time is running out for diplomatic efforts to settle the conflict situation. The statement is seen as encouragement to Israel to unleash another aggression. Israel threatens war, and if this war does break out it can spill over an extensive area.

A leading figure in the Palestinian movement, (Basam Abu Sharif), has said that the United States wanted to mislead the world public into believing that Washington wants peace in the Middle East. But Israel uses American-made planes in its raids into Lebanon. Its bombardments of Lebanese communities and Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon are sponsored by the United States. Washington's ultimate aim is to impose the separate Camp David deal on the Arabs, to deal a blow to the Palestinian resistance movement and weaken Syria's anti-imperialist stand.

'Growing Tension'

LD180852 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 18 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 18 May, TASS--The newspaper PRAVDA resolutely condemns Israel's aggressive actions against Lebanon and Washington's policy of connivance at them.

"A tense situation in Lebanon," PRAVDA's Beirut correspondent writes, "deteriorated even more in recent days. The situation is especially tense in the region of the city of Zahlah (Al-Biqa' Valley) where the formations of reactionary right-wing Christian parties continue armed provocations against the inter-Arab peace keeping force. The situation is explosive in the capital, too. Phalangists have shelled Syrian units belonging to the inter-Arab peace-keeping force, as well as a number of districts of the western sector of the capital controlled by the national-patriotic forces of Lebanon."

"No one has any doubts here that growing tension in Lebanon is the result of aggressive actions by Israel supported by its Washington ally. It is worth mentioning that right now one of the leaders of the right-wing Christian military formations Bashir al-Jumayyil has left for Washington having accepted an invitation to hold 'consultations'.

"There is every indication," the Beirut press writes, "that Tel Aviv and its imperialist patrons are trying to provoke large-scale military clashes inside Lebanon, and, by inciting local reactionary circles, to plunge Lebanon into a civil war. This is evidenced by the build-up of the Israeli military might in an enclave seized by south Lebanese separatists. There are reports that a new consignment of Israel-manufactured weapons, including artillery, has arrived in the region of Marj 'Uyun.

"A big group of Israeli warships cruised off the Lebanese coast, while the Israeli Air Force planes repeatedly appeared in Lebanon's air space.

"The Beirut newspaper AN-NIDA' in an editorial says the question arises in such a situation as to what is behind the Middle East visit of the special envoy of the White House, Philip Habib? With his arrival the situation in the region has sharply deteriorated. Tel Aviv which does not conceal its aggressive ambitions, has started working up military psychosis. This means, the newspaper points out, that 'the diplomatic efforts' which Washington allegedly makes with a view to settling the Lebanese crisis are nothing else but an attempt to camouflage U.S. involvement in a dangerous development of events around Lebanon and U.S. interference in its internal affairs."

PRAVDA REPORTS DEMICHEV TALK WITH SYRIAN AIDE

LD151531 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 81 p 4

[Text] TASS--On 12 May P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Minister of Culture, received Najah al-'Attar, Syrian minister of culture and national orientation, who is in the Soviet Union in connection with the holding of a Syrian culture week.

Issues of the further widening and deepening of Soviet-Syrian cultural cooperation were discussed in a friendly talk.

B. Kharuf, Syrian charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union, took part in the talk.

IRANIAN-IRAQI CONFLICT BENEFITS 'IMPERIALISTS'

NC162246 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 15 May 81

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

[Text] Greetings dear listeners. The Iranian-Iraqi War has been going on for about 8 months now and has caused the deaths of thousands of people. Large industrial units, particularly the Abadan oil refinery, which is unparalleled of its kind, have been destroyed as have been vast areas. About 1.5 million Iranian refugees have left their homes and are obliged to seek temporary places to live. This war creates calamities and deprivations for both the Iranian and the Iraqi peoples. The peoples of both countries are impatiently waiting for the war to end.

Speaking for the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev has described this war as completely meaningless as far as the interests of both countries are concerned. But there are forces in the world for which this war--which has been sparked off by their own instigations--is of great importance. One of our listeners from Tehran, Mrs Farnaz [name indistinct], has very opportunely and rightly written in her letter: The imperialists try, wherever they can, to benefit from war and from the arms' race. When the military monopolies of the United States and of other imperialist countries calculate their income from war, they rub their hands with joy.

Arms' sellers are trying to hurriedly exploit the situation which has been created so that they can sell their goods at prices many times the usual price. The FAR EAST ECONOMIC REVIEW, published in Hong Kong--the center of international hoardings--reported that, because of the Iranian-Iraqi military conflict, arms manufactured by Western countries which are extremely essential for the conflicting countries are often bought on the free market at prices four or five times the usual price.

Western military monopolies are trying to make the war and fratricide between Iran and Iraq continue as long as possible. The West is trying to use the conflict to consolidate its positions in the Near and Middle East. The imperialists hope that the Iranian-Iraqi war will weaken both countries and will decrease their political and economic weight in the region.

In its own time the anti-imperialist struggles of the Iraqi people led to the dismantling of the aggressive Baghdad Pact and then the people's revolution in Iran ended the activities of the CENTO bloc with which help the United States and Britain intended to establish their (?long) hegemony in the Persian Gulf region. Washington, London and other Western capitals hope that by weakening Iran and Iraq through the war and fratricide they can weaken the anti-imperialist movement throughout this region and create a rift in this movement. At the same time the imperialist governments wish to decrease the strength of opposition against policies followed by reactionary regimes subservient to them in the Near and Middle East and especially the Zionist regime in Israel, As-Sadat's regime in Egypt, Qabus' regime in Oman and Ziaul Haq's regime in Pakistan. Naturally, the representatives of these reactionary regimes are happy with such a prospect and are not only trying, in some way or other, to fan the flame of the Iranian-Iraqi War, but they also invite their imperialist masters not to refrain from using force against both Iran and Iraq.

In an interview with a representative of Danish television, Egyptian President As-Sadat called on the West to directly intervene in the Iranian-Iraqi conflict. He gave his consent on the use of Egyptian territory to achieve these objectives. As-Sadat said that if the forces of Western governments, headed by the United States, are sent to the conflict area he does not oppose the inflicting of blows on both countries, that is Iran and Iraq.

As we know, the United States and other NATO members have now stationed many warships in the Persian Gulf and in the proximity of this region. One of the pretexts put forth by them is trying to ensure the navigation routes, namely the Hormuz Strait, in view of the continuation of the Iranian-Iraqi military conflict.

Using this armada for aggressive attacks on Iran which took place last year in Tabas reveals the true objective of why this armada is here. By exerting any type of pressure on Iran the American and British imperialists are forcing it to abandon its intentions to implement its independent anti-imperialist policy and are pushing Iran's reaction in the path of reviving the past system in the country.

The world's social circles fully understand how dangerous and meaningless the continuation of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict is. As we know, AAPSO has issued a special statement stressing that the continuation of the Iranian-Iraqi War is only to the benefit of the enemies of African and Asian nations and to the benefit of imperialism headed by the United States and international Zionism. This organization has called for a peaceful solution of the Iranian-Iraqi differences. A delegation of countries participating in the Nonaligned Movement and representatives of other countries and organizations are exerting efforts to overcome the differences. All the world's progressive people are trying to help. As Leonid Brezhnev said to the 26th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union is very decisively attempting to bring an end, as soon as possible, to this fratricide and to solve this difference through political means. We are indeed trying to help to this effect.

Dear listeners: I thank you for your attention and wish you health and happiness until we meet again.

COMMENTARY CRITICIZES ANTI-AFGHAN STANCE IN IRAN

NC162253 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1630 GMT 16 May 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The Afghan Foreign Ministry issued a statement on Wednesday stating that Afghanistan constantly and firmly pursued the policy of peace and all-embracing cooperation with all countries on the international scene. The Afghan Foreign Ministry recalled proposals put forth a year ago, on 14 May, by the Afghan Government with the intention of establishing normal relations with all neighboring countries, namely Iran.

The year which has passed since the Afghan Government tendered these proposals has confirmed the pressing importance of this attempt which is in the interests of both countries. Imperialists continue to vastly exploit the fact that differences between Iran and Afghanistan remain unsolved not only to carry out provocative acts against Democratic Afghanistan, but for subversion against Iran as well.

Time and again Tehran newspapers have revealed facts showing that Afghan counterrevolutionaries who have nested in Iran have strong links with the CIA, agents of the former SAVAK, and the Israeli spy agency, MOSSAD. They have turned all that is sacred into a plaything; have donned the mask of "the defenders of Islam" on their sinister faces; and are carrying out imperialist missions, attempting to assassinate progressive officials in Iran and committing subversive acts. As an example, Rabbani, the leader of one of these counterrevolutionary minigroups which carried out overt and serious activities especially until recently and called itself Jami'at-E Eslami, is a CIA mercenary. When Iranian officials were convinced that he was carrying out subversive acts, the activities of this minigroup were banned and its center in Mashhad was closed down. This minigroup continues to act clandestinely. The Jami'at-E Eslami is not the sole subversive anti-Iranian organization constituting of Afghan counterrevolutionaries. The Lebanese newspaper ASH-SHA'B has written that the duties of the Afghan counterrevolutionary mingroups such as the Harakat-E Eslami and the Hezb-E Eslami is to furnish separatist and extremist movements in Iran with arms and money. With their help, the American, Israeli and Egyptian spy agencies spark off (?riots) in various parts of Iran and carry out terrorist and subversive acts. Parallel with their subversive activities against the present regime in Iran, the Afghan counterrevolutionaries also commit numerous penal crimes. Iranian newspapers frequently report that anti-Afghan elements in Iran are busy with smuggling and drug trafficking, robbing Iranians and committing highway robberies in the western areas near the front.

The number of respectable people among the large number of Afghans who are on Iranian territory for one reason or another is not small. Despite the hostile propaganda disseminated among them against Democratic Afghanistan, many of them have not been misled and so far, despite numerous difficulties and obstacles created by reaction, thousands of them have replied to the invitation by Democratic Afghanistan and have returned to their homeland where they have started peaceful activities.

Anti-Afghan remarks by some very influential Iranian officials who, at the same time, pay great lipservice about their devotion to Iran's anti-imperialist revolution cannot but justly raise the rage of the people since [words indistinct] imperialist sources, leaders of Israel and Egypt, vestiges of the toadies of the deposed shah who are (?the strongest enemies of Iran's independence). They try, at any price, to prevent the normalization of relations between Iran and Afghanistan. It should also be stated that as the Afghan Foreign Ministry has pointed out in its statement issued on Wednesday, the Afghan Government has not retreated an inch from its 14 May 1980 proposals calling for a normalization of relations with Iran and Pakistan.

AL-QADHDHAFI ON TERRORISM, EXPULSION OF DIPLOMATS

LD170938 Moscow TASS in English 0810 GMT 17 May 81

[Text] New York, 17 May, TASS--The United States is a real inspirer of international terrorism, said M. al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution. Speaking in an interview with CBS, the American television company, he stressed that no minor terrorist actions can stand comparison with the global policy of international terrorism which is pursued by the United States. It threatens the peoples with a nuclear war, establishes military bases in the territories of other countries, blackmails independent states by shows of naval strength and tries to strangle the freedom loving peoples with the help of hunger.

M. al-Qadhdhafi disproved Washington's provocative allegations that Libya finances, trains and arms various terrorist groupings. These accusations are absolutely groundless, he said. We are against terrorism and we have a law banning any encouragment of terrorist activities. We are not going to support terrorists but we back the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, as for instance we support the just struggle and the just aims of the Palestinian people. Speaking in an interview with a Spanish television correspondent M. al-Qadhdhafi condemned the U.S. policy of dividing the Arab peoples. He stressed that Tel Aviv commits acts of aggression in the south of Lebanon with the direct consent and encouragement of Washington.

Speaking of the decision taken by the American authorities to expel Libyan diplomats from the USA, M. al-Qadhdhafi said this is a short-sighted policy. He said this decision fully violates the principles and charter of the United Nations which urges all countries to strengthen cooperation and mutual understanding. This decision shows once more, he said, that the USA does not wish to recognise the right of the peoples to independent development.

The leader of the Libyan revolution criticized the attempts made by the American administration to picture the national liberation struggle of the peoples as "international terrorism." Libya has supported and will continue to support the struggle of the peoples for their freedom. As to international terrorism, it shows first of all in the policy of the USA, M. al-Qadhdhafi said.

PRAVDA REPORTS ON ALGERIAN VISIT TO MOSCOW

LD151513 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 81 p 4

[Text] TASS--N.K. Baybakov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, received Belkacem Nabi, Algerian minister of energy and petrochemical industries, on 12 May. Issues of mutual interest were discussed in the course of a conversation. Al-'Ayyashi Yakir, Algerian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talk.

MORE ON CONGOLESE DELEGATION'S ACTIVITIES

Romanov Reception

LD151812 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Leningrad, 15 May, TASS--Grigoriy Romanov, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Leningrad regional party committee, today received Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour, president of the People's Republic of Congo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the members of the party and state delegation of the People's Republic of Congo.

In the course of the talk, Grigoriy Romanov stressed that Leningraders like all Soviet people were satisfied with the successful completion of the Soviet-Congolese talks and the signing of the USSR-Congo friendship and cooperation treaty and other Soviet-Congolese documents.

Grigoriy Romanov told the guests about the activity of the Leningrad Party organisation, aimed at putting into practice the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the implementation of the comprehensive economic and social development plan for Leningrad and the Leningrad region for the 11th Five-Year Plan period.

Denis Sassou-Nguesso expressed his gratitude for the cordiality and hospitality accorded to the delegation. He said that the talks in Moscow and the adoption of the Soviet-Congolese documents were an exceptionally important landmark in bilateral relations. Denis Sassou-Nguesso praised the foreign policy initiatives advanced by Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress.

The guests visited the Lenin Memorial Museum in the Smolnyy Palace. Denis Sassou-Nguesso laid wreaths to the Lenin monument there.

Delegation Departs

LD172250 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 17 May 81

[Text] Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the chairman of the Congolese Labor Party, president of the People's Republic of the Congo, the head of state and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of the Congo, left the Soviet Union this morning. He visited the Soviet Union at the head of a party and state delegation on an official friendship visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government. At Pulkovo Airport in Leningrad the visitors were seen off by Romanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, and other officials.

Telegram to Brezhnev

LD180618 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 17 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 May, TASS--Chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour, President of the People's Republic of the Congo, head of state, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Denis Sassou-Nguesso has addressed from onboard plane a telegram to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev. It says: "At the time when we are leaving your country, I have the great honour of sending to you on behalf of the Congolese people, its government and party our cordial gratitude for the friendly and hospitable welcome, which was accorded to us during our stay in Lenin's homeland. The useful talks, which we had, accord with the spirit of the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU and the Third Congress of the Congolese Party of Labour on strengthening cooperation between our parties and states. May the friendly relations and cooperation existing between our two countries strengthen for the benefit of the Congolese and Soviet peoples".

STRATEGIC GUIDELINES FOR SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT

WA180900 Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 20 Apr 81

[Article by M. A. Suslov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN, No 8, Apr 81, Signed to Press 7 Apr 81: "The Strategy of Construction Adopted by Developed Socialism"]

[Text] The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has entered the life of our country as an important landmark on its road to communism. It has outlined the new heights we are to reach in the course of a new historical period. It has made a weighty contribution to the further development of the struggle to ensure favourable external conditions for the constructive effort of the Soviet people and to consolidate world peace.

The communists and all working people are unanimously approving the results of the work of the highest forum of the Party. They express a firm belief that the implementation of the decisions of the congress will lead to a further improvement of the people's well-being, the steady growth of the economic potential of the country, the enhancement of its defence capability, greater sociopolitical and ideological solidarity of the Soviet people and a new flourishing of our socialist Motherland.

1. The Congress of the Party of Creators

The significance of the 26th Congress of the CPSU is determined in the first place by the fact that it has put forward a scientific programme of the development of Soviet society for the next five-year period and the whole decade of the 80s. Each new stage in the life of our state is new problems brought on by the social and political realities within the country and on the world scene. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teaching alone gives an opportunity, relying on a knowledge of the objective laws of social progress, correctly to solve these problems. Creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory, our Party identifies new ways and means for the ever fuller unfolding of the resources and possibilities of mature socialism and their effective use in communist construction.

At the congress it was pointed out that the role of the Party as the leading force of society is not self-given. This role has to be earned, won in the course of a constant struggle for the interests of the working people, and the CPSU is successfully solving this task.

Expressing the will of the entire Soviet people, the Communist Party has been unswervingly taking them along the course bequeathed by the great Lenin. All working people of our country are participating in the practical realisation of the plans mapped out by the Party. Millions upon millions, demonstrating their political maturity and a high degree of social activeness, become the conscientious exponents of its policy. Being the political vanguard of the people, the Communist Party alone can unite their efforts in the building of the new society.

Under present-day conditions, systematic social development is impossible without the all-round elaboration of long-term, strategic guidelines. The building of the material and technical base for communism and perfecting of the entire system of social relations under mature socialism require a solution of tasks of enormous scope. The colossal volume of effort and funds that are set in motion for the achievement of the objectives, sets account for the particular complexity and responsibility of the decisions we take. Demands on the quality of social management and communist education are becoming higher. All this predetermines the steadily increasing role of the Party in our life. The 26th Congress was a striking confirmation of this objective requirement and necessity of mature socialism. It has further strengthened the unity between the CPSU and the Soviet people.

The Central Committee report to the 26th Congress of the Party, delivered by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, is an outstanding political and theoretical document.

It comprehensively and profoundly examines all the vitally important problems of our time. It represents a remarkable example of a creative Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present stage of the development of the USSR and the world situation.

A carefully considered approach, so typical of our Party, to the problems under discussion, far-sightedness, a principled and bold exposure of shortcomings and the identification of their causes and how to overcome them--all this was fully manifest in the report of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, the other documents of the Congress and in the speeches of delegates. The Congress has equipped the working people with a clear understanding of the ways of contemporary social development and a distinctly outlined programme of action for the forthcoming period.

It is the prime duty of Party organisations and the mass media to carry the meaning of the conclusions of the 26th Congress to each Soviet citizen, to organise their broad propagation and in-depth study. This is one of the main components of the transformation of the Congress decisions into practice. It is essential that the study of the documents be carried out in an organic unity with the analysis of the state of affairs in each Party organisation and in each work collective. It is necessary to ensure that the key conclusions and propositions of the Congress, the basic approaches it has defined to the problems of economic, social and political development and of ideological and educational work are translated into the language of practical tasks which the particular collectives are to achieve, and that each person is clearly aware of his role and responsibility and in implementing the plans of the Party.

At the recent general-body and activists' meetings held everywhere, the communists determined the tasks of their Party organisations arising from the decisions of the 26th Congress and the report of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and specified the role of each work collective in carrying out the assignments of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. The directive of the Congress that the style and methods in leadership are an important question for the entire Party and for the entire people now assumes a special meaning. Undeviatingly following the Leninist standards and requirements is the duty of each Party committee and each communist.

The most important requirement at the present moment, to use Lenin's words, is "practical ability and businesslike methods in organisational work" (V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 27, p. 214). Lenin regarded this as the primary, immediate and chief task. It remains such also now. It is from this standpoint that one should assess the plans and measures worked out by Party organisations. Only given this approach it is possible to ensure the absolute fulfilment of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan--the main assignment given by the Congress.

"Regretfully, to this day not everybody has understood the simple fact," said Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, "that the art of leadership does not consist in producing and circulating directives on every occasion." The Congress showed a good example of a strictly businesslike, critical and yet constructive approach to all the questions examined. The creative atmosphere of the Congress invigorated the entire Party. It is the duty of the communists to develop this spirit in the work of their organisations and assert Party principledness and intolerance of shortcomings.

Perfecting the methods of Party leadership is a constant and responsible task. It includes a further enhancement of the role of republican, territorial, regional, area, city and district Party organisations. Having noted the valuable, instructive experience of a number of local Party organisations, the Congress at the same time took note of the shortcomings still existing. A condition has been clearly formulated: if each Party organisation in its sector uses all the reserves and puts everything in proper order, this will be a new boost for the progress of the country as a whole.

Big tasks now face primary Party organisations. These units, numbering 414,000, represent an enormous political force. In the first place, they embody the Party's direct links with the masses. Where a Party organisation is strong ideologically and organisationally matters proceed well, the decisions of the Party are being fulfilled successfully. For this reason the congress singled out their paramount role in the solving of varied tasks of communist construction and supported the Central Committee's line of activating these units to the maximum. They must more fully use their right of control over managerial activity and invariably display principledness in approach to any questions--personnel selection, the fulfilment of state plans, the improvement of people's working and living conditions. From the rostrum of the Congress Comrade L.I. Brezhnev wished the Party organisations "to display more initiative and take a more principled stand." To respond to this call by concrete deeds is the duty of communists at each factory, plant, collective and state farm, office and institute.

The essence of Party leadership lies first of all in the selection of personnel and the verification of fulfilment. That is why the Congress paid such great attention to improving the qualitative composition and placement of executives, giving detailed recommendations to Party committees. Coming to the fore in particular is the question of control over the fulfilment of adopted decisions, which still remains a bottleneck in the work of a considerable number of Party organisations and from which stem numerous shortcomings in economic, and not only economic activity. The congress demanded of each organisation and of each Party committee that they exercise this control systematically and promptly.

The fundamental Leninist principle of inner Party life--democratic centralism--has received its further development. It gives the maximum opportunity for all the members of the Party to raise their activeness, to develop inner Party democracy, strengthen discipline and enhance the responsibility of communists for the state of affairs in their organisations and the Party as a whole. Inter alia, the measures worked out by the Congress to fortify the links between the centre and the localities and between the leading bodies and the Party masses are aimed precisely at this.

It is the primary and chief duty of Party committees to strengthen their comprehensive ties with working people and strictly follow Lenin's instruction: "Live right among the masses. Know the mood. Know everything. Understand the masses. Be able to approach them" (V.I. Lenin. Complete Works, Russian edition, Vol. 44, p. 497). Widening publicity in the work of Party organisations should help strengthen the Party's bond with the masses. A truly Leninist approach requires that each Party worker and each official regard a considerate attitude to the needs and requirements of citizens as his duty to the people and to the Party. Party organisations must look after the daily implementation of this requirement. In particular, this must also be the guide in assessing the work with working people's letters and suggestions, in which, as the Congress pointed out, serious shortcomings still exist.

The promotion and strengthening of the initiative and innovation of the masses is the general line for the implementation of the Party's plans. In his speech at the closing of the Congress, touching on the conditions of the realisation of its decisions in practice, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev noted: "What does this require? First of all, a high sense of responsibility and firm, truly communist, conscious discipline. But no less necessary, of course, are inspired thought, the tireless search for what is new and support for it. A constant display of initiative--initiative everywhere and in everything--is needed." It is essential that each communist and each Party organisation should devote all their energies to the fulfilment of the decisions of the Congress, for their aim is the welfare of the people.

II. A New Stage of the Economic Policy of the CPSU

The economic strategy formulated by the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses, which can be cumulatively characterized as the congresses of the period of developed socialism, demonstrates organic continuity and at the same time an innovative approach of the Party to national economic problems. During the period of developed socialism the economy--the material basis of social progress--has attained a qualitatively new level and possesses a vast production potential. The gross national product has grown by 70 per cent and exceeded the value of 1,000,000 million roubles. The Soviet Union leads the world economy in a number of major indicators. During the ninth and tenth five-year periods the national income increased by more than fifty per cent to reach the figure of 437,000 million roubles in 1980. The real incomes of the working people rose substantially.

These achievements forcefully demonstrate the superiority of the socialist economic system, the correctness of the CPSU's scientific economic policy and the inexhaustible constructive forces of Soviet society.

Relying on an indepth analysis of economic and social tendencies during the 1970s, the Congress set out priority targets and long-term objectives of our economic development and explicitly identified the methods with the help of which both quantitative growth and qualitative progress are to be ensured in all spheres of the national economy. Having noted shortcomings in the development of the economy, the congress pointed out that the most important reason for them was the fact that sluggishness, conventions and habits that had arisen in the period when the quantitative rather than the qualitative aspect of production loomed the largest had not yet been fully overcome. It is necessary to use the experience gained and the powerful scientific and technical potential to eliminate in a resolute, principled and consistent way the obstacles holding back economic growth.

The Congress pointed out that "the central objective of the eleventh five-year plan is to ensure the further improvement of the Soviet people's wellbeing on the basis of the steady and constructive development of the national economy, accelerated scientific and technological progress, the transition of the economy to the road of intensive development, the more rational utilisation of the country's production potential, the maximum saving of all types of resources and an improvement in the quality of work." Practical ways for attaining these goals have been mapped out in the "Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and in the Period Ending in 1990."

The eleventh five-year plan is

- A five-year plan of another economic upsurge in the interest of the people's wellbeing;

- A five-year period of the accelerated intensification of social production and a higher payback on investments in the national economy;

- A five-year plan of rationalization, the reduction of outlays and waste, and the economical use of national resources, including natural resources, machinery. energy and equipment, in short, everything the country possesses and everything the Soviet people have created by their work.

Economic growth in the eleventh five-year period will be achieved through the balanced development of all the sectors of the national economy. The main targets set by the congress for 1981-1985 characterize the steady advance of production. The national income used for consumption and accumulation will grow by 18-20 per cent to exceed the 500,000 million roubles' mark. Labour productivity will rise by 17-20 per cent. The volumes of industrial and agricultural output will increase by 26-28 and 12-14 per cent, respectively. This will make it possible to achieve a 16-18 per cent rise in the per capita real income.

These are the main targets of the eleventh five-year period. To achieve them, it is necessary to consistently effect the switch-over of the economy to development predominantly through utilizing the intensive factors.

The implementation of the course for intensification is important also because during the 1980s, as is known, factors hampering the country's economic growth will be operating: manpower increments are decreasing; outlays are growing due to the development of the difficult-of-access areas in the east and north; spending on environmental protection is rising; and the fundamental rebuilding of old plants and the modernization of transport require large allocations. In addition, the international situation, regrettably, does not allow defence spending to be cut back substantially.

Intensification of social production is one of the main law-governed tendencies of mature socialism. Certain progress has been made in this field. For instance, in the tenth five-year period it took one-third less labour inputs than in the eighth one to secure one million roubles' worth of increment in industrial output. The USSR is now leading the USA in the rates of growth of labour productivity.

These are the remarkable results of the dedicated efforts of our country's working people. Giving credit to what has been achieved, we should point out at the same time that far from all reserves for raising labour productivity have been tapped. The achievement of higher end results with smaller labour, material and financial inputs should become the immutable law of our practical economic activity and constantly be in the focus of attention of all party organisations.

To reach the targets for raising labour productivity that have been fixed for the five-year period, it is necessary to purposefully fulfil the entire range of measures identified by the Party. It is important, in particular, to perseveringly improve the organisation of production processes so as to lessen all non-productive waste, to expand the production of machines, mechanisms and instruments for the comprehensive mechanization and automatization of production, and to consistently introduce the achievements of science and technology in production.

The Congress pointed to ways for accelerating scientific and technical progress. Our country's vast scientific potential should be used to an even greater extent for raising the efficiency of social production. Especial importance is attached to the development and implementation of target-oriented comprehensive programmes of technical progress. It is on this task that the party committees of the research centres of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology and the ministries and departments which are called upon to be in the forefronts of the work aimed at closely integrating science and production, should concentrate their efforts.

The development of plants meeting the latest requirements of science and technology and the retooling and modernization of production constitute one of the main directions of the intensification of the national economy. Success in this field largely depends on the condition of capital construction. The Congress demanded that efforts be concentrated on completing and putting into operation above all those plants which are capable of generating the greatest increments in output. It is an important task of the party organisations to work towards the target set by the Congress for improving the technical standards of production and raising the efficiency of capital investments.

One of the central economic problems raised by the 26th Party Congress is the problem of an economical, thrifty use of all national resources, including raw materials, other materials, production units and all other resources. This is a major reserve for improving the situation in the national economy. As Leonid Brezhnev said at the Congress, "economic policy is coming to hinge on a matter that would seem simple and quite routine--a thrifty attitude to social property, and an ability to make full and expedient use of everything we have. It is on this that the initiative of work collectives and the Party's mass activities should be concentrated.... An economy should be economical--this is indicated by the times."

Our production potential should be used so as to achieve the maximum payback. This depends to a large extent on the efficient operation of heavy industry, above all its key sectors, such as fuel and energy, engineering, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy and the chemicals. These constitute the foundation of our economy and our economic growth. Hence the importance which the Party is constantly attaching to these branches of industry. Their problems were in the focus of attention of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The national economy experiences a certain strain because of the scarcity of raw materials, fuel, energy and metal. The Party takes measures to expand their output. But the problem hinges not only on quantitative growth. The party organisations should energetically and consistently implement the course of the 26th CPSU Congress for making thrifty use of everything that is already produced by the national economy and to lead a drive for tightening the economy regime. We must not reconcile ourselves to the fact that much gas is burned in flares, that valuable components are dumped by enrichment plants, that the metal per unit of output ratio has not been decreased in engineering for a long time now, and that production units are not always working at full capacity. The elimination of these and other similar losses, decrease of the idle time of machinery, equipment and transport facilities, the raising of the shift index and the development of energy- and material-saving technological processes constitute an impressive reserve of expanding the output of end products from the available resources.

It is likewise necessary to achieve an improvement in the structure of the fuel and energy balance, that is, to reduce the share of oil used as fuel by replacing it with gas and coal, to develop atomic engineering and to evolve fundamentally new energy sources. The structure of metallurgy, engineering and the chemicals industry should be improved as well. The better results the work collectives, ministries and departments achieve in these fields, the more effectively the targets set by the Congress for raising the efficiency of social production as a whole will be reached.

The task of rationally using the production potential and intensifying the economy calls for better economic management methods. A major role is played here by improvements in planning and by raising the importance of the state plan as the main instrument in implementing the economic policy of the CPSU and the law intended to ensure the concerted operation of the entire national economy. The Congress stressed the need to tighten requirements both on plan discipline and on the quality of plans.

The Party is consistently pursuing a course for increasing the participation of plants and associations in drawing up five-year and annual plans. Their responsibility for supplying products within the stipulated range and for improving their quality is growing. Making use of their right to control the activities of the management, party committees should constantly see to it that production collectives meet all their plan targets without fail and resolutely oppose any unsubstantiated attempt to revise these targets downwards.

In stepping up its opposition to departmentalism and parochialism and the struggle for strictly observing the priority of the interests of the entire country, the Party is consistently pursuing a line for developing the more efficient organisational patterns of management. Long-term complex programmes are becoming a major means of improving the management of the national economy with its growing scope and complexity. They are developed in such branches as fuel and power, transport, food production, etc.

The Congress pointed out that the 1980s will see the development of the economic structure with which the country will enter the 21st century. One of its important characteristic features is the development of powerful territorial-production complexes developed above all in the east of the country. Exceptionally heavy investments have been made in them, and we see now that they are beginning to pay back. An ever greater share of oil, gas and coal is mined in the eastern regions. Our country is adequately protected against the energy crisis gripping the world thanks to the promptly developed and taken measures.

The comprehensive development of Siberia and the building of the Baykal-Amur Mainline also make it possible to strengthen the mineral and raw materials base of the national economy. This plays a great role today and will be growing increasingly important in the future, when the need for raw materials rapidly increases.

The course for intensification largely explains the new approach to the organisation of the countrywide socialist competition, in which a new attitude to work forcefully makes itself felt. The Congress especially emphasized the need to improve the qualitative aspects of competition and to put into operation reserves for raising the efficiency of production. It is the duty of party organisations to resolutely scuttle any attempt at "sending down" socialist pledges from higher-up bodies, which is at odds with the very spirit of socialist competition, the spirit of the creative effort and initiative of the masses, and to support in every way upwardly-revised counter-plans and similar initiatives.

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the AUCCTU and the YCL Central Committee "On the all-union socialist competition drive for the successful fulfilment and overfulfilment of the targets of the eleventh five-year period" has given a fresh impetus to the creative initiative of the working people. The main goal to which party committees should orient the efforts of work collectives is the raising of labour productivity, improvements in the quality of products, decrease of production costs, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, a better utilization of fixed assets, savings of material resources and the unquestionable meeting of plan targets on time and within the stipulated range.

While continuing to build up our economic potential and converting it to the intensive methods of development, the Party set the task of using the available production potential to an even greater extent for raising the living standards of the population. The programme for improving the Soviet people's wellbeing that was adopted by the Congress provides for a complex of measures which include pay rises, the growth of the public consumption funds, improvements in the supply of food and consumer goods, and raising the living standards of single mothers and pensioners. The orientation of the economy towards reaching these targets is evidenced by the fact that in the current five-year period a greater portion of the national income is channelled into the consumption fund than in the previous one. A good deal is already being implemented. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers have passed resolutions on enhancing government aid to families with children and on measures to further improve social maintenance for the population.

The priority growth of the Group B industries as compared with Group A is planned for the eleventh five-year period. The expansion of production and the enlargement of the range and the improvement of the quality of consumer goods constitute one of the key economic tasks. Progress has been made here. At present, for instance, almost every family has a refrigerator, a TV set and a radio set, and two-thirds of all families have washing machines. Yet the demand of the population for certain kinds of goods is not met in full. This is especially true of meat and milk products, cotton fabrics and goods made of them, and certain cultural and household goods. The Congress outlined practical measures for expanding the production of consumer goods in mass demand. It is the duty of the party, government, economic management, and trade union organisations to continue working even more perseveringly for using all reserves, including locally-founded ones, to expand the production of goods needed by the population. This is a very important political matter which is directly related to the accomplishment of the main task of the five-year period.

The party stressed the prime importance of the uninterrupted supply of food to the population. The Congress took a decision on drafting a comprehensive food programme. The task is to expand agricultural production, and to integrate procurement, industrial processing and marketing so that the population should get quality products in sufficient quantities.

Proper conditions are provided for this. The technical and agrochemical basis of agriculture has been reinforced considerably during the past few years, and its productivity has grown. The average annual grain harvest during the past five-year period was 205 million tons, and the output of other agricultural products increased.

However, a good deal is yet to be done. A distinctive feature of the agrarian policy in the 1980s is the shift of emphasis to raising the payback on capital investments, to increasing the productivity of agriculture and to improving its links with all the other branches of the agroindustrial complex. These are large-scale and responsible tasks. To accomplish them, party organisations must make full use of latent reserves and better utilize the economic, material and technical potential created in the countryside so as to ensure a tangible increase in the output of crop-farming and livestock-breeding.

The decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress call upon the working people to strive for fresh progress. "Any improvement in the standard of living can be achieved only by hard work on the part of the Soviet people themselves. Mature socialism provides the broadest opportunities imaginable for the full unfolding of the abilities of every citizen. The thing is to use these opportunities. There is nothing that free and conscious work for oneself and for one's society cannot accomplish!" Leonid Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress.

III. Social Programme of Developed Socialism

A typical feature of the political course worked out by the 26th CPSU Congress is a close linking of the issues of Soviet society's economic and social progress. The decisions, adopted at the Congress, make up the CPSU's programme of social policy in the context of mature socialism, a scientifically-motivated, comprehensive long-range programme.

To carry this programme into effect requires a full-scale effort by the Party organisations at all levels. It is necessary to do this work with the business-like approach, sense of responsibility and initiative typical of our Party, without ever leaving out the fact that this is essential both to the improvement of the working conditions, everyday life and leisure-time facilities offered to the Soviet people, their cultural and intellectual advance and to the successful fulfilment of national economic plans.

The possibilities for an onward movement of a mature socialist society depend largely on the level of development of its social relationships and political system. Without studying the changes in the social structure, to quote V.I. Lenin, "not a single step can be taken in any sphere of social activity. The understanding of these changes determines the prospects for the future" (V.I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 17, p. 144). Having thoroughly perceived, from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, the changes in the social make-up of the working class, collective farmers, intellectuals and professional people, and in their relationship, the Congress formulated some fundamental principles of theoretical and practical importance.

There is, above all, the principle that the leading trend in the development of the social-class structure of Soviet society is for its classes and social groups to converge and move ahead confidently towards the great goal of establishing a classless society. One argument which was put forward at the Congress was that the formation of a classless structure would take place, mainly and essentially, within the historical framework of mature socialism. Experience indicates that the sum and substance of this process is the logical evolution of all classes and groups of Soviet society into a society of working class whose ideological and political qualities, interests and ideals are becoming common to all sections of Soviet society.

The conclusions produced by the Congress direct the Party organisations towards creating the conditions for these objective processes to develop unobstructed. Above all, their efforts must serve to raise and consolidate the influence of the working class in every area of life of our society. It is necessary to keep in sight all the time the questions of enhancing the ideological and political maturity, educational standards and occupational skills of workers and to bring more of them into the membership of Party, trade union and Komsomol committees as well as supreme and local government bodies.

The problems related to the further obliteration of distinctions in the social status of workers and peasants must be an object of great attention in the activities of Party organisations, above all, those of the countryside. The task in hand today is, first and foremost, to take further practical action towards erasing the distinctions between the town and the countryside, notably, with regard to the provision of technical facilities for work, social welfare and recreational facilities and personal services, etc. The solution of the said problems is a major concern of the CPSU's agrarian policy which provides for a fuller industrialisation of agriculture, enhancement of the productivity of all of its sectors, intensive improvement of recreational facilities and domestic services in the countryside, and progressive convergence of the two forms of socialist property.

The intellectuals and professionals, rising from grassroots, have a growing part to play not only in science, education and culture, but also in material production and in the whole of public life. Their numbers are fast growing. The CPSU's strategy of promoting the utmost consolidation of the alliance of the working class, collective farmers, professionals and intellectuals meets the objective requirements of social development. And that means that in their actual work and day-to-day affairs, the Party committees must unfailingly take into account the particular features and interests of all the classes and social groups, see to the development of the ever closer all-round cooperation of workers by hand and by brain as well as to the reinforcement of the pre-condition for the convergence of intellectuals, professionals, the working class and collective farmers.

The Congress made an important contribution towards the elaboration of the CPSU's ethnic relations policy, one of the most involved areas of the life of society.

The full bridging of what was once the huge gap between the standards of development of Central Russia and her outlying native communities was described at the Congress as a historic achievement. All the republics are developing in a stable and dynamic way. This is a striking indication of the fruitful Leninist ethnic relations policy of the CPSU.

One of the fundamental principles of this policy is that of promoting the growth of the material, cultural and intellectual potential of each republic, along with its utmost exploitation for the well-balanced development of the nation as a whole. It is from this standpoint that the Congress dealt with the problem of the Non-Black-Earth Zone of the RSFSR, pointing out that it should be resolved in common by all the republics within as short time-limits as possible. The Party organisations must always keep in view everything that has to be done to ensure well-timed and effective fulfilment of the programme for the development of the Non-Black-Earth Zone of the RSFSR and explain far and wide its national importance.

The Report of the CPSU Central Committee once more stressed the need for the closest possible attention to be given by the Party committees to the problems logically arising from the dynamic development of the multiethnic Soviet state. These include, for instance, the problems connected with the multiethnic communities of the constituent republics. The rising proportion of citizens of other than the local nationalities is a natural process due to the development of the country's productive forces, the transformation of its economy into an integrated national economic complex and the rapid increase of diversified links between the republics. This process will go on. Therefore, the Party committees must make a closer examination of the problems involved and lose no time in proposing the ways to solve them.

The fraternal friendship of all the peoples of this country is growing stronger all the time in the context of mature socialism along with an intensive all-round convergence of nations and ethnic communities and the consolidation of the new social and multiethnic entity--the Soviet people. The task before Party organisations is to contribute towards promoting these trends by their entire organising, political, ideological and educational work with the masses, and to oppose as much as they can such anti-socialist evils as chauvinism or nationalism. "We are against tendencies aimed at an artificial obliteration of national identities", Leonid Brezhnev emphasized. "And, to a similar extent, we consider their artificial inflation inadmissible. It is the Party's sacrosanct duty to educate the people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, to foster a sense of pride in belonging to the integral great Soviet Union".

The improvement of our society's political system is the major factor for its advance towards Communism. Basic to this effort is the consistent enforcement of the Constitution of the USSR. The Central Committee's Report forcefully stressed the need for the advantages of the Soviet political system to be turned to account in full measure. It is the duty of Party organisations to have all production groups, government and social bodies, offices and departments establish and promote such inalienable features of socialist democracy as above-board and concerned collation of views, criticism and self-criticism, and to stimulate the people's social and political activities in every way. It has been and still is an object of primary concern to raise the standards of the working people's political knowledge which is indispensable for the full exercise of the actual rights and freedoms offered by developed socialism. Yet another constant and important task is to train the people to have a sense of social responsibility and a determination to fulfil their civic duties in good faith.

The Party organisations have much to do in view of the rising role of the Soviets of People's Deputies, improvement of the performance of people's control bodies, and consolidation of the socialist law and order. Accurate and unfailing observance of laws by everybody everywhere is an immutable principle of our life, and Party organisations must look into any breach of this rule from positions of principle.

The development of Soviet democracy is indissolubly connected with the activities of social organisations and, above all, the trade unions and the Komsomol, as the largest of them.

The trade unions have been and still are the Party's mass base of support. They enjoy extensive rights and opportunities for protecting the interests of the working people and resolving economic, social and cultural problems. Party organisations must aid the trade unions in using these rights and opportunities in full measure, while promoting and encouraging their activity and initiative in deciding the questions of work, life and everyday conditions of the people, as well as those of planning and running production, manpower selection and allocation.

The Congress underscored the high mission and defined the main task of the Leninist Komsomol: "To contribute towards moulding a generation of politically active and competent people, fond and capable of working, and ever ready to defend the nation."

Socialism's humanistic nature, expressed in the Party's slogan: "Everything for the sake of man, everything for the good of man", finds its clear expression in the Soviet people's way of life. The consolidation of its material, intellectual and cultural foundations was considered by the Congress as one of the Party's major tasks, largely instrumental in promoting our society's advance towards Communism.

The Party builds its policies on the assumption that socialism can be nothing but a society of working men. The consolidation and development of the foundations for its working life calls for unflagging control by the State and the community over the measure of work and the measure of consumption. It is a challenging task before all Party committees and all primary Party's organisations to work for the consistent implementation of the ideas of the Congress everywhere in so far as they concern the improvement of material and moral incentives. Everything must be done in all sectors, at every enterprise, in every office and department for the performance of their workers and staff to be fairly and objectively assessed in every case, for hardworking employees to be encouraged in every way and for lazy-bones and bunglers to be punished by wage cuts and reduced privileges. Such an approach is quite consistent with the socialist principle of distribution depending on the quantity and quality of work as well as with our moral principles, and it prompts the masses to strive for better efficiency, to be resourceful and to take care of the national interest.

At the same time the Congress called for closing all loopholes for sponging, unearned incomes, blackmarketeering, bribery and encroachment on socialist property. Among other measures to this end, the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers adopted a well-known decision on improving the operation of the distributive network and public catering establishments and putting things right, as they should be, in the rules of trade, and in the distribution of products and other commodities. Some specific measures have been outlined to raise an effective barrier to all manipulation with scarce goods and to intensify the action by appropriate State bodies against all abuse in this field. Party committees and the Party organisations of the relevant ministries and departments, enterprises and institutions within the distributive network must do everything necessary for these measures to be vigorously applied. There should be more reliance in this sense on the working people, and on workers' control, in particular.

The promotion of the working capacity of mature socialism implies an unfailing improvement of living and working conditions. The Party organisations of factories and offices, collective farms and state farms, research establishments and designing offices, as well as managerial authorities must see all effort towards abolishing manual, low-skilled and arduous occupations as a task of paramount importance. This problem affects the vital interests of millions of factory workers and collective farmers.

Concern for the well-being of the working people prompted the most exacting attitude every which the Congress adopted in dealing with the questions of the social development of enterprises, cities and the countryside. Business executives must use the resources allotted to this end exactly as prescribed, in full and on schedule. Residential districts and recreational and service facilities must no longer be allowed, as happens rather often, to be treated as projects of secondary importance compared with industrial projects. This misguided attitude means difficulties for the public in their everyday life and labour turnover and, ultimately, excessive costs.

Party committees and primary Party organisations, including those of ministries and departments must do everything for the Congress-approved line of promoting the well-balanced development of productive and social welfare facilities to be consistently followed. Naturally, this means a certain change of mind by business executives and a search for some new forms and methods of work by Party organisations. But without that, it is impossible, in modern circumstances, to resolve effectively major economic problems, particularly in the newly-industrialized regions.

Steady progress in the areas of activity designed to meet the people's basic social needs is part and parcel of the socialist way of life. This involves housing, education, health services, physical training and sports and environmental protection. The money to finance their development comes from the social consumption funds which will grow substantially during these five years.

Party committees must see that this money is spent economically and effectively. And that means not only economic, but social efficiency as well. The allocation of housing can be taken as a case in point. It is a direct duty of Party organisations to bring it under their unflagging control and to insist on the fullest possible involvement of community organisations in it and on extra consideration, objectivity and fairness.

There is an increasingly imperative need for ideologically and politically mature citizens, intellectually rich, fond of work and capable of working imaginatively, if the development of socialist society is to be successful. That means that the moulding of the new type of man as an all-round individual progressively turns from an ideal of a remote future into an object of the Party's actual concern. The Congress defined the ways of using Soviet society's immense material, cultural and intellectual potentialities for bringing out more of what Marx described as "man's creative talents".

In the present circumstances, the Party organisations have to work to ensure the closest possible integration of educational efforts and social-economic practice. Experience shows that to break such unity means divorcing one's word from one's deed and substituting political claptrap for effective education. And this claptrap produces a harmful effect on the mood of the people and on the moral climate in the community.

For Soviet society's immense economic and cultural potential to be used more effectively for the sake of man's well-balanced development, his needs and interests must be shaped actively and consistently. This is largely a new task before Party organisations and, naturally, it requires a search for appropriate forms and methods of accomplishing it. The emphasis in this work must, obviously, be on training every Soviet person to feel a need for work and to have an honest and creative attitude to it.

Party organisations must not for a moment relax their efforts to oppose all instances of philistine mentality, avidity and money-grubbing as well as indifferent attitudes towards the cares and affairs of the people. Without getting rid of those social "sores", it is impossible to keep moulding the new type of man with success, and it is a duty of Communists to strive for the effective involvement of all production groups and all community organisations in combatting the antipodes of the socialist way of life.

The natural underlying features of the development of our society and the course of international events are adding to the role and significance of ideological, political and educational work. It was examined circumstantially and critically at the Congress. The point is to restructure many areas and sectors of this work so as to bring it in line with those new internal and external conditions in which the Soviet people live and act. The main tasks before the Party organisations in this respect had been formulated in the CPSU Central Committee's resolution of April 26, 1979, and specified at the National Conference of Ideological Workers which met in October, 1979. The Congress emphasized their relevance.

However, the remodelling of political, educational and propaganda work is going on slowly and there is a lack of vigour in overcoming the existing essential shortcomings.

The Congress put forward a series of requirements to meet to raise the efficiency of propaganda and of the whole of educational work. The major line of action in this sense is that of consistently cementing the bond with the actual course of life and a fusion of educational work with the Soviet people's practical activities. That means laying the ground for success in every sector of political and educational work, including the major ones, such as mass political work and Party education. In directing the restructuring of these forms, Party committees must give primary attention to the selection, training and briefing of propagandists, and work persistently for the study of theory to be unfailingly linked with explaining the Party's policy as well as with the current social and production problems uppermost in human minds, and to respond to their increased educational and cultural standards.

The Congress noted the growing role of the mass media and propaganda in the Party's ideological work and in the whole of our life. It is the invariable duty of the press, broadcasting and television to bring the Party's message to the masses and to be always a genuine vehicle of public opinion. Party committees must competently exploit the potentialities of their press, back up its initiative and make its publications effective. Those who ignore the fair criticisms of the press, or try to hush them up or persecute those who make them should be brought to account.

The deliberations and results of the Congress demonstrated once again the unflagging attention which the CPSU, a Party of scientific Communism, has been giving to the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. The Congress noted in particular the progress made in elaborating the concept of developed socialism. With this to go by, the Party is clarifying and specifying the ways and the timing of the attainment of its policy objectives and defining its long-range strategy and tactics.

Having done justice to the contribution of Soviet social scientists towards the investigation of a number of major problems of communist construction and world development, the Congress pointed out, at the same time, the shortcomings and weaknesses in the field of social sciences. Their subsequent progress largely depends on the perseverance and energy with which the Party organisations of scientific establishments will be working to overcome the proclivity towards scholastic theorising and timidity in the perception of new developments. It is necessary to make a closer study and fuller elaboration of the problems raised by the theory and practice of communist construction, by the progress of science and technology, that is, the so-called global problems.

Having established a long-term programme for Soviet society's social, economic, political, cultural and intellectual development, as well as the major trends and objectives of the ideological work of the CPSU, the Congress has thereby created the indispensable conditions for the effective performance of Party organisations in the present stage of communist construction.

IV. A Forum of Peace and Social Progress

The Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU has vividly shown that while setting plans for the future the Party pursues by all its activities a dual aim--the wellbeing of the people and a lasting peace. The CPSU's policy is effective because both on the international scene and in the sphere of communist construction its plans are close and understandable to the entire Soviet people; they enjoy the boundless support of the masses and are realised with their active participation.

The working people of our country well realise that by their selfless work they ensure the security and prosperity of their homeland and strengthen the material foundation on which the consistently peaceful, internationalist foreign policy of the CPSU and our state rests. The Soviet people wholly approves of the consistent programme of preventing war and consolidating peace and international security which was laid down at the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU.

The foreign policy programme of the Congress is all the more important and topical now that the aggressive imperialist circles are escalating the arms race under the false allegation about a "Soviet military threat" and striving to increase military confrontation to the world of socialism and the liberation movement.

Active attempts are made to arrest detente, revive the atmosphere of the cold war and return to the doctrine of "rolling back" socialism. Putting on again the uniform of the world's policeman, American imperialism prevents the settlement of serious crisis situations and creates flashpoints of tension in various parts of the globe. It surrounds the planet with an ever thicker network of its military bases. The US openly assembles interventionist "rapid deployment forces" which are to ensure the policy of diktat and unceremonious interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. They help dictatorial regimes to suppress popular movement by force, finance and supply with arms terrorist gangs which fight against legitimate democratic governments.

Particular danger emanates from the plans to accelerate the development and deployment of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction as well as the psychological brain-washing of people by spreading all sorts of "doctrines" and "directives" which claim that a nuclear war is permissible.

In such a complicated international situation people all over the world looked forward to the reply which the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU would give to the questions agitating mankind. They pinned hopes on new initiatives and proposals aimed at the reduction of the arms race and the promotion of inter-state peaceful co-operation, and the Congress justified people's expectations. The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev said: "At present, nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to preserve peace and ensure the paramount right of every human being--the right to life." The voice of the Congress was heard in all the corners of the earth and won universal acclaim.

By creatively applying the Leninist approach to an analysis of world social development, the Congress formulated objective and profoundly scientific assessments and conclusions and charted a course for the Party which is the continuation and specification of the Peace Programme of the Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Fifth Congresses of the CPSU. The public at large and realistically-minded leaders can compare two foreign policy courses: a course of peace and co-operation mapped out at the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU and one of aggressive adventurism, diktat and nuclear blackmail conducted by the imperialist circles. The result of such comparison is obvious to an overwhelming majority of people: the people's sympathy and growing support are on the side of the Peace Programme, the continuation of detente, peaceful coexistence and co-operation among states and peoples.

"In a situation of a re-emerging threat of war and the shadow of aggression and intervention hanging over peoples, the Soviet Union and its glorious Communist Party which you represent act again as a support of peace and a guarantee that imperialism will not be able to go ahead with its claim to world domination and force peoples into yielding to its gross arrogance," Fidel Castro said, addressing the delegates of the Congress.

The class essense of imperialism's international policy which is by no means determined by a concern for the security of mankind is particularly laid bare in our days. This policy is wholly aimed at ensuring the persistence of a system of exploiting the working people and oppressing the nations. Lenin's warning that no beaten track to a lasting peace exists or can exist is all the more topical in our time. The assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence as the universal and firm norm of inter-state relations calls for unremitting efforts and hard struggle. Relying on the political will of the Soviet people, the growing economic and defence potential of the country and the solidary support of socialist allies and all the peace-loving, progressive forces, the CPSU has been consistently and purposefully waging this difficult struggle, and such a struggle is to be waged for many years to come yet.

In the most unambiguous terms the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU expressed our Party's firm intention to continue doing its utmost for diminishing the threat of war and overcoming any obstacles which imperialism and hegemonism erect in the way of peaceful international co-operation. The Congress did more than confirm the CPSU's consistent loyalty to a policy of peace. In conditions of growing international tensions the CPSU has again expressed its readiness for a constructive dialogue and co-operation in the entire spectrum of specific measures to consolidate the positive results of detente achieved in the 70s which make it possible to take further steps towards improving international relations.

In addition to the earlier Soviet peaceful proposals, the Congress advanced major new initiatives which were enthusiastically approved by the public at large.

Political leaders of various trends noted with satisfaction the tranquil and weighed-out attitude of the CPSU to sizing up the state and prospects of Soviet-American relations, which stands in glaring contrast to the bellicose calls and statements of the Washington politicians. The Congress firmly stated that the Soviet Union did not press for military supremacy over the United States, but that it would not permit the United States to gain such supremacy over it. Taking into consideration that the international situation largely depends on the policies conducted by the USSR and the USA and proceeding from the interests of the peoples of our two countries and humanity as a whole, our Party came out in favour of an active Soviet-American dialogue, including meetings at the highest level, with a view to establishing normal relations with the United States. The world regards such an attitude to international issues as a manifestation of lofty statesmanship.

It is from the positions of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous co-operation that the Soviet Union approaches relations with other capitalist countries, too.

In capitalist countries the ruling circles differently assess the initiatives which were set forth at the Congress. The bourgeois mass propaganda media strive to belittle their importance. Serious politicians, however, see their significance and call for their careful study and the drafting of a constructive reply to them. What is more, many realise that the military-strategic parity obtaining between the USSR and the USA and between the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO objectively facilitates the maintenance of peace. The new peace initiatives of the Soviet Union expand the field for fruitful negotiations and positive solutions. It is now for the governments of the United States and other NATO countries to say their word.

In the current situation when the aggressive circles are mobilizing their huge propaganda machine to "justify" their actions which are aimed at undermining detente and escalating the arms race, the importance of the ideological struggle is sharply growing on the world scene. It is a task of exceptional importance for our mass media and all the Party organisations to subject the Party's foreign policy course to thorough scrutiny, comprehensively explain it, give a resolute and well-reasoned rebuff to the massive anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaigns launched by imperialism and promptly and effectively expose the slanderous concoctions of our class enemy.

It should be noted that bourgeois propaganda is growing increasingly sophisticated and treacherous. It speculates on the problems and shortcomings which happen in the life of our society, trying to foster in people the private-property and consumer psychology and undermine their socialist and internationalist consciousness. A modern Party and ideological worker must always have convincing arguments at hand and be able to explain the Party's policy without dodging controversial problems.

Soviet people maintain broad contacts at various levels with people in other countries; tens of thousands of Soviet people are working in other countries where they represent our outlook of the world, the socialist way of life and the moral principles of socialism. Success in fulfilling this mission depends on the level and quality of day-to-day educational work in Party and mass organisations.

The Congress accorded a special significance to problems related to the development of the world socialist system. It is the socialist countries, their aggregate potential and co-ordinated peaceful policy that have always been an effective guarantee of maintaining and strengthening peace. They show mankind the way to the creation of truly just and equal relations between nations.

The fundamental principles on which fraternal countries are building their relations have completely justified themselves. Life has proven the correctness of the policy of socialist internationalism, a policy of equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation and comradely assistance. This consistent line of policy pursued by our Party was well manifest in its approach to the events in Poland, which was formulated at the Congress. This approach received full approval of the delegates and guests of the Congress.

The Congress emphasised the need to study more thoroughly the vast and widely ranging experience accumulated by the socialist countries.

The report of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee forcefully emphasised the importance which our Party attached to the wide-ranging and close ties with the fraternal countries in the sphere of material production. Priority here was given to the task of deepening socialist integration on the basis of long-term target programmes. Addressing the Congress, Leonid Brezhnev said: "The CPSU and the other fraternal parties have set their course on making the coming two five-year periods a time of intensive co-operation among the socialist countries in production, science and technology." The objective of the programme is to ensure further economic progress and enable the entire socialist community to continue its forward movement by broadening multilateral and bilateral economic relations.

Hundreds of enterprises and organisations and cities, territories, regions and republics in the socialist countries are linked by the bonds of sincere friendship and business co-operation. International socialist emulation has become a remarkable phenomenon. Party organisations, particularly in the work collectives that directly participate in this co-operation, must constantly inculcate in the Communists and all working people a profound awareness of its great political importance.

The Congress spelled out the CPSU's position on Soviet-Chinese relations. Our Party condemns the dangerous policy of the Chinese leadership, which is aimed at escalating international tension and serves the objectives of the imperialist policy. At the same time, the Soviet Union does not want to provoke a confrontation with China. The USSR consistently advocates normalisation of relations with China on a good-neighbourly basis.

The impressive picture of the achievements of the Soviet people, which was drawn at the Congress, is in vivid contrast with the economic upheavals and social and political instability in the capitalist world. The problems that face capitalism are the result of the further exacerbation of its general crisis. The uncontrollable rise in the cost of living, 19 million jobless, recession in production, the exacerbation of inter-imperialist differences and the energy and ecological crises are the result of the ills of the capitalist system itself.

The methods of state regulation of the capitalist economy and the attempts to patch up class differences by partial social reforms have failed. The bankruptcy of the myths about "welfare society" and "people's capitalism" has now been officially admitted. There is an increasingly open and arrogant transition to the anti-popular policy of launching a direct onslaught on the vital interests of the working people. The US administration has embarked upon a policy of cutting expenditures on social security, education, housing construction, medical care and unemployment benefits, while appropriations for the needs of the monopolies, particularly the military-industrial complex, are growing. The same policy is being pursued by the British Tories who are trying to ensure economic "recovery" by exerting more pressure on the working people and abridging union rights. This is evidence to the effect that the policy of the bourgeois state has always been a class-based policy, an exploiter policy.

The working class in the capitalist countries responds to this policy in a proletarian way, vigorously fighting to safeguard its rights and interests.

The Congress reaffirmed the Soviet Communist Party's commitment to the ideals and policy of internationalist solidarity with the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and the struggle of all peoples for their national liberation and social progress. No blackmail by imperialism can shatter this position. The Soviet Union will continue to promote co-operation with the countries that freed themselves from colonial dependence, and see to it that they play an active role in world politics as sovereign states. The documents of the Congress contain an in-depth analysis of the development of the socialist-oriented countries, emphasise the importance of the non-aligned movement and clearly outline ways of ensuring a just political settlement of the situation in the Middle and Near East, South East Asia, the Persian Gulf and Southern Africa.

The provisions of the report of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee which illustrate the growth in the authority and influence of the communist parties and emphasise the importance of contacts between them will undoubtedly play an important role in ensuring closer internationalist unity of the communist movement. Communists from different countries took a great interest in the sections of the report which dealt with the general laws and specific features of revolutionary transformation and socialist upbuilding, illustrated the wide range of problems tackled by the communist parties and pointed to ways of settling differences between them. All the participants in the Congress enthusiastically supported Leonid Brezhnev's remarks in which he expressed our Party's unflinching solidarity with the communists who fall victims to repression.

The Congress reaffirmed and elaborated the Soviet Communist Party's consistent policy of co-operation with all democratic forces, including the Social Democrats, in the struggle to avert war and strengthen peace and in the fight against fascism and reaction.

Internationalism and the feelings of friendship and fraternity with the peoples of other countries, which are typical of the Soviet people, were forcefully demonstrated during the numerous meetings with foreign delegations and at meetings of Party activists and rallies of work collectives.

The foreign guests unanimously hailed the work of the Congress and its decisions and resolutions on the fundamental problems of the struggle for peace, against imperialism and reaction, and pointed out that the Congress would give a fresh impetus to the unity of the communist and the revolutionary movement as a whole. They emphasised that participation in the work of the Congress by representatives of practically all sections of the world's liberation movement, active discussion of the ideas put forward by the Congress on the crucial problems of our time, and constructive contacts between foreign delegations made the Congress a truly internationalist meeting.

The Congress forcefully expressed the most cherished thoughts and aspirations of the whole Soviet people. The country's working people responded to this by a new rise in labour and political activity, proving in practice their determination to carry out the Congress' decisions and successfully meet the targets of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan.

The Soviet people are making steady progress in building communism. They are optimistic about their future because they are led by their time-honoured leader, the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

DEPUTY CHAIRMEN GIVE AWARDS TO WORKERS, OFFICIALS

LD180653 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 81 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Presentation of Awards"]

[Text] Presentations of USSR orders and medals to large groups of machine builders, instrument makers, workers in agriculture and land reclamation, workers of the State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture and of procurement organizations and workers in forestry, the fuel industry, transportation, highway construction and exploitation, printing, state trade, public catering, the consumer cooperative system, consumer services for the population, housing and municipal services and higher and secondary specialized education took place in the Kremlin on the eve of the nationwide victory festival. They have been awarded the motherland's high awards for successes in fulfilling the 10th 5-Year Plan targets and socialist pledges.

The USSR state awards were presented by A. S. Barkauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; I. V. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and A. K. Antonov, I. I. Bodyul, Z. N. Nuriyev and L. V. Smirnov, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Accepting the motherland's awards, the workers, engineers and leaders of teams, associations, enterprises and economic organs of management expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Soviet Government and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally for the high assessment of their labor and assured them that they will apply all their strength, knowledge and experience to successfully realizing the 11th 5-Year Plan targets and the historic 26th CPSU Congress decision.

SMIRNOV ATTENDS MOSCOW 'RADIO DAY' MEETING

LD150937 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 81 p 3

[Text] TASS--A gala meeting to mark Radio Day, the professional holiday of the workers of all communications sectors, was held in Moscow's House of Unions Hall of Columns on 7 May.

Present at the meeting were L. V. Smirnov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K. S. Simonov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, military chiefs, scientists, production pacemakers, socialist competition winners and representatives of the capital's public. A report was delivered by E. K. Pervyshin, minister of the communications equipment industry.

The participants in the meeting gave the assurance that they would use all their strength, knowledge and experience to implement the 26th CPSU Congress decisions and to fulfill successfully the tasks of the current year and of the 11th 5-Year Plan.

TRADE UNION SECRETARIES END MOSCOW CONFERENCE

LD151658 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] A conference of secretaries of central committees of republic, Kray and oblast trade union councils ended in Moscow today. There was a discussion of ways to further improve educational and cultural mass work in light of the 26th CPSU Congress resolutions. On the second day of the conference a report was delivered by Tyazhelnikov, head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department. It was stressed at the conference that it is the duty of the trade union organizations to help working people to grasp the tenets and conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee summary report, which was delivered at the congress by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, and of the other materials of the forum of Soviet communists, and to define their place in implementing the program of socioeconomic development.

ESTONIAN DISSIDENT SENTENCED FOR ANTI-SOVIET VIEWS

NC161352 Paris AFP in English 1240 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] Stockholm, 16 May (AFP)--An Estonian dissident, Tiit Maddison, was sentenced yesterday to four years' labour camp and two years forced residence for "agitation and anti-Soviet propaganda", the aid centre for prisoners of conscience in Estonia confirmed today.

The Swedish news agency TT reported the conviction yesterday, quoting dissident sources in Talinn, capital of the Soviet republic of Estonia.

The aid centre said that Mr Maddison was convicted of having sent an "anti-Soviet letter" to the West German radio station Duetsche Welle and of having complained to Soviet authorities about the intervention in Afghanistan last year. Mr Maddison was also found guilty of refusing "voluntary labour", which he described as "slavery", and of distributing underground publications. The 30-year-old dissident, who worked in a state farm, served a first two-month sentence last year. He was arrested again on leaving jail and had been in custody ever since.

Meanwhile, the leader of the aid centre, Ants Kippar, said that five Estonian dissidents and three young sympathizers had been given heavy labour camp sentences recently.

One of the five, Juri Kuuk, a former chemistry professor at Estonia's Tartu University, died at the end of March in a camp at Vologda, north of Leningrad.

Mr Kippar said that Estonian sources were also urgently concerned for the life of a senior dissident leader, Mart Niklus, who had been on a lengthy hunger strike. A biologist, Mr Niklus was given 10 years labour and five years forced residence in January and is held at Perm, in Siberia.

LITHUANIAN CP PAPER ON 'FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE'

LD151011 [Editorial Report] Vilnyus SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian on 28 April published on page 3 under the headline "Two Apporaches to Freedom of Conscience" a 2,200-word article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Prof I. Anichas, replying to a letter from reader S. Svetlova asking "What is the essence of the bourgeois-clerical interpretation of freedom of conscience?"

Anichas contrasts "bourgeois" and "socialist" approaches to freedom of conscience, asserting that the "bourgeois-clerical" approach rests on "the social role of religion and the related interest displayed by the bourgeoisie in retaining this ideology," in order to "channel the working people's will and consciousness into a world of illusions," and noting that "in all conflicting social systems religious organizations (churches) have always been closely linked with the ruling classes" and have served their interests. Moreover, he continues, in bourgeois states where there is an official state religion the preferential treatment accorded to that religion means "the de facto and legal inequality of different religious organizations." While the laws of capitalist countries enshrine religious freedom of conscience, they do not guarantee the right to profess no religion and to conduct atheist propaganda, he states.

On the other hand, the article continues, the goal of the socialist approach is to eliminate the social roots of religion and to "improve the people's masses' standard of culture, enlightenment and education," noting that freedom of conscience is "a very important condition for attaining this goal." Full freedom of conscience, he says, gives every citizen the right to practice any religion and to propagandize the ideas of scientific atheism "without hurting believers' religious feelings." Thus freedom of conscience, Anichas concludes, can be exercised "only when the church is completely separated from the state," noting that because freedom of conscience is a component of the socialist democracy, which has ensured the Soviet people's historic successes, "the imperialist bourgeoisie makes very great efforts to discredit the Marxist-Leninist principle of freedom of conscience and the practice of its implementation in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

ALIYEV REPORTS TO AZERBAIJAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE

LD151506 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] A plenum of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has discussed the tasks of the republic's party organizations for the implementation of the 26th party congress decisions. The rapporteur, Aliyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, noted that many industrial collectives are competing for the fulfillment of 5-year plans in 4-4.5 years. On the initiatives of a number of enterprises a movement has begun [illegible] shortening the time needed to master new production capacities.

The participants in the plenum criticized shortcomings and revealed reserves for eliminating them. In particular, in a number of industries there are enterprises which do not fulfill the plans, frequently the cost of production is high, and the work to improve its equality does not meet with increased demands. Party political and ideological work should be directed toward overcoming these shortcomings.

RASHIDOV PRESENTS AWARDS AT 30 APRIL CEREMONY

LD151033 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 1 May 81 p 1

[Excerpts] UZTAG--In a festive atmosphere on 30 April--the eve of the day of the working peoples' international solidarity--Sh. R. Rashidov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, presented to a large group of workers of party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs awards of the homeland, bestowed upon them for successes in fulfilling the targets of the 10th 5-Year Plan and the socialist pledges.

Sh. R. Rashidov cordially congratulated the awardees on the imminent May Day festival and wishes them good health, personal happiness and new successes in labor for the good of the homeland.

The presentation of the awards was attended by I.B. Usmankhodzhayev, chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium, and L. I. Grekov, second secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee.

SHEVARDNADZE SPEAKS ON ADZHAR ANNIVERSARY 7 MAY

LD151411 [Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 8 May carries on pages 1, 2 an 8,800-word GRUZINFORM report entitled "Along the Path Outlined by the October Revolution" on a "jubilee meeting dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in the Adzharskaya ASSR." The report contains a 5,800-word account of a speech delivered at the meeting in Batumi on 7 May by "E.A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee."

Shevardnadze reportedly deals at some length with the historical development of the Adzharskaya ASSR since 1921 and pays tribute to "Soviet power" which he asserts brought "genuine freedom" to the area's "working people." He stresses Batumi's "revolutionary traditions" and its links with Stalin among other Georgian revolutionaries. Shevardnadze refers to "errors" made in the past and the "conclusions" to be drawn from them, cites advances in education and in the economic, social and cultural spheres, and stresses the ASSR's links with "Georgian Soviet national culture" and that of the "Soviet people" as a whole. He calls for a strengthening of "party, state, labor and production discipline" and stresses the "significance" of "military-political work," bearing in mind the presence of "military bases of the aggressive NATO bloc" in neighboring Turkey with which he also stresses the Soviet Union's "good, normal relations." Shevardnadze concludes with reference to the ASSR's future "tasks" in the economic sphere.

SHEVARDNADZE ADDRESSES ABKHAZ OBKOM, SUPREME SOVIET

LD151442 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 15 May 81

[Summary] A ceremonial session of the Abkhaz Obkom and the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet was held today in honor of the 60th anniversary of Soviet power. Abkhazskaya ASSR has achieved great successes over the 60 years.

"A speech was made at the ceremonial session by Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee.

OBKOM PLENUMS REPORTED IN KAZAKHSTAN, BELORUSSIA

LD151109 [Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 25 April carries on page 2 a KAZTAG report entitled "Obkom Plenums" on three Kazakh Obkom plenums:

A Chimkentskiy Obkom plenum,date unspecified, reportedly discussed the "party organizations' tasks on further intensifying agricultural production in the light of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions." A report was delivered by "Obkom First Secretary A.A. Askarov."

A Tselinogradskiy Obkom plenum, date unspecified, reportedly discussed "the question of stepping up organizational and political work on fulfilling the 1981 socialist pledges in light of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions." The report notes that "a report was delivered by Obkom First Secretary N. Ye. Morozov."

A Kzyl-Ordinskiy Obkom plenum,date unspecified, reportedly "examined the question of party committees' organizational work on the rational use of material and financial resources." The report notes that "Obkom First Secretary T. Ye. Yesetov delivered a report."

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian on 29 April carries on page 3 two BELTA reports on recent Belorussian Obkom plenums. The report on the 28 April Grodnenskiy Obkom Plenum notes that the plenum was addressed by "First Secretary L. G. Kletskov," who delivered a report on "the obkom's organizational and political measures for the fulfillment of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions." The report further notes that "there was a discussion at the plenum of the question of the state and measures for the improvement of the labor training, education and vocational guidance of schoolchildren in light of the 26th CPSU Congress' decisions. The report was delivered by Belorussian Obkom Secretary Ye. Ye. Yemelyanova."

The report on the 28 April Gomelskiy Obkom Plenum notes that there was a discussion of "organizational and political measures for the fulfillment of the 26th CPSU Congress decisions," and that "Belorussian CP Obkom First Secretary Yu. M. Khusainov delivered a report."

UZBEK SSR CULTURE MINISTER REPLACEMENT ANNOUNCED

LD150949 [Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 30 April front-pages a "decree of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium" which announces the "appointment of Comrade Zakhra Rakhimbabayeva as the Uzbek SSR Minister of Culture." The decree is dated 29 April 1981.

The same issue of PRAVDA VOSTOKA carries on page 4 and unattributed announcement entitled "Chronicle" which announces that "the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Gayni Nadzhimov from duties as Uzbek SSR minister of culture in connection with his transfer to other work."

NEW RADIO SERIES ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS BEGINS

LD171052 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 16 May carries a 30-minute program about economic affairs in the USSR, the first in a new series entitled "Economists in the Radio Studio."

The program is chaired by correspondent (Boris Todov) who introduces a panel of three speakers: Viktor Novikov, chief of the Economic Planning Directorate of the Avtozil association; (Ivan Surkhatov), director of the Mashinostroitel experimental engineering plant in Moscow; and (Valeriy Tyubrikov), secretary of the USSR Academy of the National Economy.

Each panelist answers a number of questions from listeners who have sent letters to the studio and the program then develops into a free-ranging discussion.

(Todov) begins by introducing the topic for discussion: Labor shortages and labor-saving methods in the USSR. He says that the labor force is now 126 million and that this is a vast resource that should be used thriftily and economically. He points out that it is not an inexhaustible resource and notes that the past week has seen the publication of a CPSU Central Committee decision approving the work of a number of Moscow enterprises which have achieved substantial savings in labor, materials and energy.

(Tyubrikov) says that much has already been seen about the saving of material and financial resources, and adds that "no state can tolerate a wasteful attitude toward its resources." Labor resources, he goes on, are "a special case" and remarks that with a population in excess of 250 million, "one might think" that a country "could solve all its problems." He says, however, that "at the present time we can see that our demography is letting us down slightly; the problem of labor resources is becoming more acute."

Here (Todov) comes in and says that "judging from our mailbag, this problem interests many of our listeners." He adds that the letters received comment on "some quite well-known facts": Some 93 percent of the RSFSR's able-bodies population are employed and in some areas of the country the labor shortage is "currently more acute" than the shortage of types of rolled metal or fuel. The authors of the letters, (Todov) says, come to the conclusion that all possible savings in labor must be made.

(Tyubrikov) then says that by 1990 the USSR has to increase the national income spent on consumption by a minimum of 25 percent and that this can only be accomplished by raising the efficiency of social production. He says that labor productivity has to be raised by 17-20 percent and that this increase should account for 85-90 percent of the increment in national income. He adds that a 17-20 percent increase in labor productivity would release several million workers for development work in other areas and the construction of new enterprises.

(Tyubrikov) then mentions four ways in which the increase in labor productivity can be brought about: By the application of scientific developments in production; by mechanization of labor; by improved planning and incentives; and last by the organization of socialist competition.

Various suggestions for improving labor productivity are mentioned. (Surkhatov) gives as an illustration the Mashinostroitel plant in Mosocw. The plant has been manufacturing what he says are "elevator stores" but before these were available stocks were left lying around in warehouses, a target for theft and vandalism. Now, in the mechanized stores an operator can summon a piece of equipment at the touch of a button. This, he points out, facilitates stocktaking and fewer stocktakers are required; they can be retrained for other jobs which are more satisfying.

Novikov then says that at the Avtozil association in Moscow "passports"--job specifications--have been issued, containing details about each worker's duties, working conditions, remuneration, material incentives and his workload factor. If it is found that a job has a workload factor of less than 70 percent and an equipment utilization factor of less than 65 percent, then it will either be merged with another job or eliminated altogether.

Novikov goes on to say that at Avtozil four robots have been brought into use for forging connecting rods. Altogether, the robots cost R140,000. This released seven workers whose total annual pay was about R16,000. The annual depreciation factor on the robots amounts to R21,000; therefore, the potential loss is R5,000. Novikov says, however, that they have decided to go ahead with the robots because welfare service payments increase the total wages bill by about 35 percent, which in turn increases the saving achieved by using the robots to R22,000, completely covering the depreciation factor. Furthermore, Novikov says, the use of labor-saving equipment reduces the level of industrial accidents and staff turnover and cuts overheads generally.

SYNTHETIC FUEL, ALTERNATIVES TO OIL DISCUSSED

LD151051 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 24 April in its Morning Edition publishes on page 2 under the headline "Gasoline From Coal" a 1,500-word article by Academician A. Sheyndlin, "chairman of the coordination council for the 'synthetic fuel' problem," and Doctor of Chemical Sciences I. Kalechits, chief of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, Chemistry Directorate, stating that since stocks of oil are "dozens of times less than stocks of coal" it would seem, given the dangerous exhaustion of oil stocks and the constant rise in oil prices, "essential to turn to the production of liquid fuel from coal." Noting that present methods are unsatisfactory, the authors emphasize that "fundamental research must be developed, solutions involving simplification and a reduction in cost must be found to create new, more effective technology, reliable new designs for apparatuses must be found, and engineering experience in operating them must be accumulated." Outlining research programs in this direction, Sheyndlin and Kalechits then describe the comprehensive targeted program, elaborated by the academy and sector institutes, for the problem of obtaining synthetic liquid fuels from the Kansk-Achinsk coal-mines for 1981-85.

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 22 April publishes on page 13 under the headline "Sun Instead of Coal, Wind Instead of Oil?: A Dialogue on 21st Century Energy" a 3,000-word interview by special correspondent A. Udaltsov with Academician A. Sheyndlin, "director of the USSR Academy of Sciences high temperatures institute," and one of the leaders of the Moscow symposium on "the signficance of new and renewable energy sources in resolving global energy problems."

Sheyndlin answers questions on the nature of renewable and nonrenewable energy sources, the extent of known coal resources, and possible carbon dioxide of the atmopshere, and pollution. He notes that while there are sufficient stocks of organic fuel for the "foreseeable future" it is still necessary to develop alternative sources of energy, discusses the future of solar energy and the problems of nuclear energy, noting that many conventional power stations are "no less dangerous" than nuclear power stations and that in the West the nuclear power issue frequently revolves around "politicking." He goes on to answer questions on the potential for transforming "biomass" into liquid fuel and thermal energy into electricity, and finally discusses possible sources of domestic fuel in the 21st century.

PRAVDA ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE, RELATIONS WITH WEST

LD151343 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 29 April publishes on page four a 2000-word article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Yu. Yershov entitled "An Important Factor: For Mutually Advantageous Trade" in which he reviews a book on the USSR's attempts to "ameliorate the international situation" by means of "mutually advantageous" trade links with capitalist countries. The recent monograph "On the Materialization of Detente," published by MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA [INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] analyzes the role and significance of these relations and show that trade with the West increased 5.5 times in the period 1970-79, according to the reviewer. This is, however, largely due to trade with Europe--the FRG and France in particular, and also Finland and Italy--since trade relations with the United States have declined recently owing to "its policy of acting from a 'position of strength' in international trade." The enemies of detente, the reviewer writes, are "using trade as a political weapon" and are attempting to hinder its further growth. Success in trade relations is not achieved. he goes on, without a struggle to improve the international situation and he quotes L.I. Brezhnev as saying that the Soviet Union has always seen "equitable and free international trade" not only as a means of satisfying material needs but also as a powerful way of strengthening peace and good relations between peoples.

CONTINUING NEED TO 'INTENSIFY' PRODUCTION SEEN

LD180835 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 81 pp 2-3

[A. Viktorov article: "Intensification: Essence, Ways and Means"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The development of production takes place in two main forms--extensive and intensive. The first is linked chiefly with quantitative growth, the creation of new production capacities and the increase in the number of workers. The second presupposes, above all, the increasingly efficient utilization and improvement of the existing potential and the enhancement of work quality and of the product being produced. Here the development of production is ensured primarily through utilizing the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress, improving organization and management, enhancing the working people's education and qualifications, developing their initiative and increasing labor productivity.

"The intensification of the economy and the enhancement of its efficiency," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th party congress, "if we translate this formula into the language of practical deeds, consists above all of ensuring that the results of production grow more quickly than the spending on it and that more can be achieved by involving comparatively fewer resources in production."

In the process of the development of socialist society there is a constant increase in the role of intensive factors in the development of the national economy. This is expressed, in particular, in the fact that economic growth is increasingly being ensured through increased labor productivity. Whereas in the First 5-Year Plan this amounted for 51 percent of the total increase in industrial output. in the Fifth 5-Year Plan it accounted for 68 percent of it and in the eighth 73 percent.

At the modern stage of our society's development the intensive form of expanded reproduction is a pressing need. There is an increasingly clearly defined requirement to make the translation from partial to comprehensive intensification based on the utilization of the sum total of factors of accelerated and qualitative growth of production and embracing all its sectors and all its levels.

There are weighty grounds and reasons for this. One of them consists of the fact that extensive factors have to a considerable extent been exhausted. The unfavorable demographic situation is resulting in a reduction of the inflow of labor resources, and the level reached in the utilization marks the limit (in the RSFSR, for example, 93 percent of the able-bodied population is working already, that is, the reserves of worker cadres have essentially been exhausted and we cannot expect their imminent significant replenishment). In the central, western and some southern parts of the country there is less and less land left that can be brought into agricultural circulation or used for construction. We also must not disregard the increasing cost of opening up the east and north, the inevitable growth in spending on protecting the natural environment and other factors.

All this indicates that a number of objective factors complicating the development of our economy will apply in the eighties. The CPSU sees the possibility of overcoming their adverse influence along the lines of increasing production efficiency on the basis of its comprehensive intensification. "THE CHIEF TASK OF THE 11TH 5-YEAR PLAN," the "Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the Period Through 1990" point out, "IS TO ENSURE FURTHER GROWTH IN THE SOVIET PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING ON THE BASIS OF THE STEADY, ONWARD DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY, THE ACCELERATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND THE TRANSFER OF THE ECONOMY TO THE INTENSIVE PATH OF DEVELOPMENT, THE MORE RATIONAL UTILIZATION OF THE COUNTRY'S PRODUCTION POTENTIAL, ALL POSSIBLE SAVING OF ALL KINDS OF RESOURCES AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF WORK."

In the 11th 5-Year Plan it is planned to secure no less than 85-90 percent of the increase in national income and more than 90 percent of the increase in industrial output through higher labor productivity.

More acute than ever is the question of constantly comparing expenditure with the results obtained and trying to ensure that every newly invested ruble yields the maximum return. The problem now is not only one of how much is produced but also at what price and with the expenditure of what labor and material resources.

But now about some of the most important directions, ways and means of intensification noted in one form or another in the 26th party congress decisions.

First, intensification presupposes mass production and the use of the most modern, highly productive machinery, mechanisms and equipment embodying the latest achievements of science and technology and the capability of sharply raising the efficiency of social labor. In other words, the task arises of accelerating the technical improvement of every production facility and of all enterprises.

A great deal is being done in this direction. In the period 1976-79 an average of 3,800 models of new types of machinery, equipment, apparatus, instruments and means of automation were created every year, 1,800 obsolete designs of machinery, equipment, apparatus, instruments and articles were taken out of production, and 160,000 units of equipment were modernized in industrial enterprises.

Is this a lot or not? Quite a lot, to judge by absolute figures. Not, if you consider that many millions of workers are still employed on manual, frequently unattractive and even hard physical labor. Hence a task of tremendous importance: to release if not all, at least the majority of these people from underproductive manual labor. This applies particularly to loading, unloading and auxiliary work, in which hundreds and hundreds of thousands of workers are employed.

Such a modern sector of technology as robotics appears particularly promising and effective in this connection. A robot, an electronic automaton, is capable of performing heavy, monotonous, "thankless" work in very different sectors of the national economy. The mass use of robots will enable a greater number of workers to tackle attractive, creative work. (Of course, the development of robotics must not lessen attention to so-called minor mechanization, which makes people's labor lighter with the help of sometimes quite simple means).

Second, intensification means using the most sophisticated technological processes--ones which are efficient and economical from the viewpoint of expenditure, both of labor and of raw materials, energy and other resources. The central place among them belongs to waste-free technology, which ensures residue-free utilization of natural riches, the extraction of all components necessary and useful to man and moreover--which is very important--conservation of the natural environment. We must show increasing concern to ensure that not a single grain of the earth's gifts is wasted.

Intensification also presupposes the implementation of a most progressive raw materials policy--comprehensive improvement of the use of raw materials, supplies and fuel, reduction in the proportion of rolled ferrous metals consumed, extensive replacement of nonferrous metals by cheaper materials, the lowering of fuel consumption norms, increased output of finished products from raw materials and extensive use of synthetics.

Reducing consumption of materials is a great reserve in the development of production. In machine building and construction alone it is possible to save 8 and 2 million tons of rolled ferrous metals respectively in 1985 as a result of improving the quality of metal, improving designs of machinery and metalworking technology and making wider use of chemical and other materials. Great savings are promised by powder metallurgy, the replacement of metal cutting by stamping and the improvement of component durability through heat treatment, the strengthening of friction surface and so forth. All this is actually expressed in enhancement of the productivity, economy, reliability and durability of machinery, instruments and equipment, lengthening of engine life, reduction of the weight of machinery per unit capacity and, in the final analysis, in high quality and the lowering of prime production costs.

There is no doubt that intensification is simply unthinkable without broad development of scientific research and rapid introduction of its results into production and realization of inventions and rationalization proposals. Here science is called upon to outstrip production and technology in its development since, the more fruitfully science feeds practice with new ideas and designs and technological solutions, the more quickly technology will develop and the higher the pace of technical progress and social production growth will be. It is important to make the widest possible use of such practically proven organizational forms of uniting science and production and science-and-production and other associations.

Accelerating labor productivity growth through using new equipment and technology, increasing power available per worker, comprehensive production mechanization and automation and broad use of scientific labor organization methods and means are also indispensable directions of intensification.

Another main direction of intensification is improved organization of all social production. In the forefront here is the task of structural improvement: priority, increasingly preferential development of promising sectors that determine scientific and technical progress--electronics, electricity generation, machine building, the chemical industry, instrument making and metallurgy, particularly the production of high-quality metals and the widening of their range; improvement of intrasector proportions; and increasing importance for the economically most advantageous kinds of production, which meet society's requirements with the least expenditure.

Raising the level of specialization and cooperation among enterprises, developing intersector ties, strengthening integration processes, introducing extensive unification and standardization, developing economically expedient forms of concentrating and combining production--without all this it is impossible to imagine the process of intensification. It is specialization that contributes to the timely and efficient introduction of the latest achievements of science and technology into production, to the most expedient utilization of material, labor and financial resources, to the efficient organization of scientific information and research and design work, to the training of skilled cadres and to production standardization. In other words, specialization opens up great possibilities for improving labor productivity and products quality.

But specialization, as we know, is inseparable from cooperation, and on the broadest intersector scale at that. Unfortunately, cooperation is still being carried out chiefly within a sector. Take the machine-building complex, for example. Many of its ministries organize almost their own "subsistence economy: and operate according to the principles "expensive but our own" and "the chief thing is to depend on no one." Almost every enterprise creates its own-sometimes diminutive--foundry, forge, instrument shop and others. They employ many skilled workers, but nevertheless labor productivity there is low and prime costs are far higher than at specialized enterprises because of technical backwardness and the limited production volume. Intensification demands the creation of large specialized enterprises producing iron, steel and nonferrous castings, forgings, stampings and plastic articles, particularly as there is a fast-growing need for them. It is advisable to distribute the output of these enterprises on the basis of collaborative ties among all consumers regardless of sector allegiance.

In some places the territorial aspect of cooperation and specialization has been lost as a result of the national economy's shift to the sector principle. However, the operation efficiency of our management machinery is conditioned by the establishment of rational economic relations not only on the scale of a sector but also on a territorial and intersector scale--which will make it possible to reduce transportation costs. Here it is important to establish these relations for the long term and to develop and improve them proceeding from the interests not of individual departments but of the national economy as a whole. This will achieve not only a high saving but also stability in collaborative deliveries--without which the rhythmic working of enterprises is inconceivable.

According to rough estimates, in the RSFSR alone the specialization of intersector production facilities would make it possible to save approximately $1 billion a year and to release approximately 300,000 skilled workers.

The problem of increasing the efficiency of capital investments is, as is known, one of the key problems for the success of intensification and one of the most acute problems of our national economy. The 26th CPSU Congress set the task of increasing the returns on funds invested in new construction, putting an end to their dissipation and reducing uncompleted construction to normative levels. Experience shows that it is more advisable to ensure an increase in output and to improve its quality through the modernization and retooling of enterprises. It is precisely the enlargement and modernization of existing enterprises that is stressed in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

Closely allied with this is the task of improving the utilization of fixed capital and improving the capital-output ratio. Raising the shift coefficient is of great importance. Indeed, why create new capacities when far from full use is being made of existing ones?

Intensification also means improving the distribution of production forces with a view to ensuring the fullest possible utilization of natural, labor and financial resources and reducing as far as possible long-distance transportation, crosshauls and other irrational transportation operations by means of bringing production closer to the raw materials base and the consumers.

Production efficiency and higher labor productivity depend to a considerable degree on the sectors serving production--transportation, communication, material and technical supplies and so forth. It is perfectly understandable that intensification presupposes accelerated improvement in the organization, functioning and development of these sectors.

Intensification is required to play the decisive role also in increasing agricultural production. Here it is expressed in an entire system of measures. These include raising the efficiency of arable farming and livestock raising on the basis of land reclamation, chemicalization, comprehensive mechanization, production specialization and concentration based on interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration, and the constant introduction of the latest achievements of science and progressive practice into production. Of growing significance here is scientific labor and management organization, the skillful use of different forms of moral and material incentives for workers, and widespread introduction of autonomous financing.

People decide the success of any matter, as the saying goes. This is all the more true when it is a question of intensification, of utilizing every kopeck belonging to the people, every kilogram of metal, every kilowatt-hour of electricity and every plot of land more efficiently and for greater returns. By his labor, his attitude toward the task and his responsibility for it the specific worker--everyone at his work place--determines the successful realization of that task. The "human factor" in the intensification of socialist production really decides everything.

This is why intensification presupposes as its necessary condition a very sharp increase in attention to the social aspects, to the sum total of them. These include further enhancement of the education and qualifications of cadres--workers, engineers, technicians and employees--so that they meet the demands of modern production, science and technology. They include the mastering of several trades and the expansion of service zones--which presupposes a higher degree of professionalism among workers and opens up still wider scope for work according to a unified team schedule. They include the improvement of working, living and recreation conditions, distributive relations, public health and so forth. All these are ways to intensify production, making it possible to increase labor productivity and achieve higher results with fewer people, that is, to operate not with numbers but with skills.

Particularly pressing is the need to improve management of the economy and the economic machinery. "It must be frankly admitted," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev pointed out at the CPSU Central Committee October (1980) Plenum, "that the management and planning machinery, management methods and executive discipline have not yet been raised to the level of modern requirements. This has hampered the shift to efficiency and the transfer of the national economy to the path of intensive development. This is an important cause of the underfulfillment of plans on a number of points and of the shortcomings and bottlenecks in the national economy."

A harmonious system of measures for the further improvement of management is contained in the 26th party congress decisions and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 12 July 1979 "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Economic Machinery's Impact on Raising Production Efficiency and Work Quality." It is a question of measures to improve the standard of planning work; to accelerate the commissioning of production capacities and projects and to increase the effectiveness of capital investments; to develop autonomous financing and strengthen the role of economic levers and incentives; to improve the organizational structure of management and its style and methods; to strengthen the material-technical and scientific base of management; to improve the training of cadres, further democratize management and develop the initiative and the creative activeness of the masses in managing the economy and society as a whole.

The implementation of this system of measures, the improvement of the economic machinery, the channeling of management toward fulfilling party decisions on the country's economic and social development--all these are reliable prerequisites and conditions for switching the economy to the path of intensive development in the name of further raising the people's living standards.

The essence, ways and means of intensification are undoubtedly not exhausted by the directions and problems noted, for in point of fact it makes fundamental changes to the nature and structure of production and has a substantial effect on both its material and its human components. It is inseparably linked with the comprehensive improvement of production and the creation of new types of output embodying the latest scientific and technical achievements and satisfying constantly changing public and personal requirements. It is interdependent on changes in the nature and organization of work and on the raising of work standards.

It is inseparable from the development of society's chief production force--man--since it deepens the division of labor and brings about the emergence of more and more new trades. The working people's qualifications are growing, and demands on their specialized and general educational training are increasing. Profound changes are affecting production collectives, their professional composition, the system of people's interrelations, the exchange of services and of the products of labor and so forth.

In other words, intensification brings about the further improvement of the entire system of socialism's social relations, affects practically all aspects of our life and accordingly demands the attention and efforts of all of society.

RADIO REPORTS AGRICULUTURAL PROGRESS 15-17 MAY

LD180346 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 15-17 May. Times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

15 May

Sowing of spring wheat has begun in Altayskiy Kray. More than 3 million hectares will be sown to this crop. (0730 GMT)

Spring crops in the USSR occupy 57 million hectares, about one-third of its area. Mass sowing has started in Siberia and the Kazakh virgin lands. Mass sowing of grain crops has started in north Kazakhstan. This always starts on 15 May, regardless of the weather. In Kokchetavskaya Oblast about 500,000 hectares, one-quarter of the wheat area, will be sown to the strong Omsk-9 and Tselinaya-21 strains of wheat. The May rains have given good moisture to the soil. In the Ukraine, sowing of late crops, corn, buckwheat and millet, is coming to a close. Sugar beets occupy over 1.7 million hectares and robust shoots have appeared. Belorussia is completing potato planting. This crop occupies almost 400,000 hectares in the public sector, with almost as much on the private plots. Robust shoots from spring crops have appeared on a large area of the USSR. In the European part, the northern border of barley has now reached a line from Riga to Mogilev to Kamyshin on the Volga. Weather is favorable. Winter crops are in satisfactory and good conditions. Grain harvesting has started in Uzbekistan. Good yields are being obtained. (1000 GMT)

Sowing of cotton has been completed in Turkmenistan. (1200 GMT)

16 May

Kurganskaya and Omskaya Oblasts have started mass sowing of wheat. This spring the spring grain area in the eastern regions of the country is to total about 48 million hectares, more than one-half of the country's total spring grain area. (0400 GMT)

Tambovskaya Oblast: Sowing of early grains will be complete today; they occupy 820,000 hectares. (0600 GMT)

Summer crops have already been sown on almost 60 million hectares. It must be said that in the past week weather has been favorable for agricultural workers: About 22 million hectares were sown. In Smolenskaya Oblast, sowing is proceeding very rapidly. Sowing of grain crops and flax is nearly completed. This year, flax will occupy almost 100,000 hectares in the oblast. Whereas in the European part of the USSR fieldwork is in full swing, in the central oblasts of Kazakhstan, in Siberia and the Altay, sowing is just beginning. Machine operators in these regions unfortunately are undergoing certain difficulties. Basically, they are connected with irregularities in deliveries of fuel and lubricants. This is reported in particular from farms of Tselinogradskaya, Turgayskaya, Pavlodarskaya and Kustanayskaya Oblasts. In southern republics cultivation is underway, and, in places, harvesting. In Central Asia, mowing of perennial grasses has begun. In Uzbekistan over 150,000 hectares have been cleared; in Turkmenistan, 25,000 hectares. Hay mowing has also begun in the Transcauscasus. (0805 GMT)

Grain crops in Kuybyshevskaya Oblast have been sown on 1.5 million hectares to date, which is 60 percent of the planned area. Mass sowing is in progress in the Khakasskaya Autonomous Oblast in eastern Siberia, where more than 400,000 hectares has been prepared for sowing to grain. (1100 GMT)

Sowing of spring crops has been completed on 1 million hectares in Tatariya. Sowing has started in Yakutiya. (1300 GMT)

Orenburgskaya Oblast: Sowing of grain crops is underway on the third millionth hectare. Meanwhile, sugar beet sowing has been completed in Altayskiy Kray and Moldavia has begun mass sowing of Soya. (2000 GMT)

17 May

The first hundreds of thousands of hectares have been sown with wheat in the Kazakh Virgin Lands. An area of almost 16 million hectares is to be sown with spring crops in the republic's Virgin Lands. (0030 GMT)

In Tatariya, spring crops are being sown on the second millionth hectare. The sowing of peas is complete and sugar beet sowing is nearly complete. In Saratovskaya Oblast the sowing of early grains nears completion. In north Ossetia corn-sowing is nearing completion. (0400 GMT)

In Kaszakhstan, all northern oblasts are sowing wheat. Conditions are good for fast work and good shoots. Virgin Land machine operators are sowing up to 1.5 million hectares per day. In Belorussia, buckwheat sowing has begun in Polesye; it is to occupy 44,000 hectares. In Turkmenistan specialized farms in the Murgab and the Karakum virgin lands have started the mass vegetable harvest. (0600 GMT)

A total of 400,000 hectares are being sown to early grain crops in Saratovskaya Oblast every day. (0900 GMT)

Sowing of sugar beet has been practically completed in Ryazanskaya Oblast, with almost 40,000 hectares sown to this crop. (1100 GMT)

SOWING OPERATION BEGINS IN KAZAKHSTAN 15 MAY

LD151730 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Alma-Ata, 15 May, TASS--Farmers in the main graingrowing area of Kazakhstan occupying two time zones between the rivers Ural and Irtysh began sowing strong varieties of wheat and furum wheat today. Taking part in the operation are more than a hundred thousand sowing units a part of which is trailed by Soviet-manufactured wheel tractors K-700 and K-701 which are the strongest tractors used in agricultural practice. The capacity of each of the mentioned machines is three times that of all other tractors currently in use.

This is essential for a good harvest, since natural conditions in Kazakh virgin steppes are such that sowing must be finished in 10-14 days. If the farmers are late by just one day this may lead to the loss of about a hundred kilograms of wheat from each hectare. Equipped with modern powerful tractors which have a high power to weight ratio, state and collective farms now can finish sowing in optimal periods of time prompted by researchers who use computers for the purpose. And this is when grain is to be sown on more than 25 million hectares in the republic (this roughly equals the entire territory of West Germany).

It is planned to harvest 28-29 million tons of grain from that area which is notably more than in the previous year. This is the target set before the farmers of Kazakhstan by the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU. Farmers of the republic are making a bigger contribution to the realisation of the country's food programme.

State and collective farms are using more mineral fertilizers. They have doubled areas under new fast-growing varieties of wheat of Soviet selection. The establishment of new irrigated zones of guaranteed grain harvests in the basins of the Syr-Darya, Ili and Chu Rivers in southern Kazakhstan is expected to bring good results.

Rapid ional photo electronic control from aboard a flying laboratory belonging to the national meteorological service will allow to find within hours the need of each field in mineral fertilizers or herbicides, to determine optimal datelines for harvesting which rules out grain losses resulting from overmaturing of crops.

MEASURES TO BOOST GRAIN PRODUCTION SURVEYED

LD151523 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 19 Signed to Press 4 May 81 p 2

[Unattributed survey: "Developing Grain Farming"]

[Text] The main avenues of the forthcoming work in the sphere of agriculture, L.I. Brezhnev stressed at the 26th party congress, were outlined in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum and they remain in force. The agricultural workers have been set a task of paramount importance--bringing the average annual grain harvest up to 238-243 million tons in 1981-85 and producing an average of up to 1 ton of grain for each person in the country by 1990. Measures to develop mechanization, chemicalization and land reclamation are making it possible to conduct grain farming more stably and to raise grain crop yields from one year to the next. That is the main path. The task is set of increasing the yield of grain crops in the 11th 5-Year Plan to an average of 20 quintals per hectare throughout the country while in regions like the North Caucasus, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Belorussia, the Baltic republics and several others it will be realistic to obtain 35-40 quintals and more per hectare.

Relying on Experience

The feasibility of the tasks which have been set has been confirmed by the experience of previous years. The 5-year targets are based on ever-increasing material and technical aid to agriculture. Using this aid, rural workers have achieved a substantial increase in grain production, as is borne out by the diagram published on page 1.

Whereas in 1961-65 the average grain harvest per hectare was 10.2 quintals, in the 10th 5-Year Plan the figure was 16 quintals per hectare. The average annual gross grain harvest over this period increased from 130.3 million tons to 205 million tons while its per capita production increased from 580kg to approximately 800kg. Grain procurement volumes also increased.

The kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers of Krasnodarskiy and Stavropolskiy Krays and Orenburgskaya, Kurganskaya and several other oblasts of the RSFSR, set a good example. The Kazakh working people made an outstanding contribution to supplementing grain resources. The development of virgin and disused lands and the improvement of the standard of farming have enabled the republic to sell the state over 1 billion poods of grain on four occasions during the 10th 5-Year Plan. The Ukrainian agricultural workers achieved this success twice during the 10th 5-Year Plan. However, the level achieved in gross harvest and state procurements of grain has still not fully satisfied the country's requirements, particularly for feed grain.

Of course, it is primarily unfavorable climatic conditions which have had an effect here. It is well known that 3 of the 5 years were extremely difficult for agriculture. Severe drought caused considerable harm to grain farming. But even under such complex conditions many rayons and farms, where a serious struggle is being waged to improve the standard of farming, achieved better results than their neighbors, where such work has not achieved the proper scope.

These contrasts are caused not only by weather conditions but also by many organizational omissions and uncompleted tasks both in agriculture itself and also in the sectors creating the material and technical facilities for it. The agrotechnical requirements for the cultivation of grain crops were not observed everywhere, little mineral and organic fertilizer was applied to them, and major losses of the harvest which was grown were allowed to occur because of the shortage of harvesting equipment, transportation and storehouses.

It is important to eliminate all these shortcomings as rapidly as possible and to establish, as early as the first year of the 5-year plan, a good basis for the successful solution of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress. The compilation of 5-year plans is now underway on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Many farms are outlining a substantial average annual increase in the production of grain and other output. Here they are taking into account the fact that material encouragement for exceeding the average annual volumes achieved in the 10th 5-Year Plan is being provided by the state.

This is helping to strengthen the economy of each kolkhoz and sovkhoz. The leading farms are paying special attention to the resolute improvement of economic work in the countryside, the consolidation of autonomous financing and the efficient use of fixed capital and all available resources, which accords with the spirit of the party congress decisions.

Main Growth Factors

What are the main factors of the further development of grain farming? They are defined in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report at the 26th CPSU Congress and the basic guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR in 1981-85 and the period through 1990.

First, there is the efficient utilization of every hectare of land and the resolute improvement of the standard of arable farming and the increase of yield on this basis. Second, there is the improvement of the structure of grain farming through increasing the proportion of the most high-yielding crops, including grain forage crops. Third, there is the rational utilization of mineral fertilizers in order to ensure that every quintal provides the maximum increase in output and the extensive use of organic fertilizers. Fourth, there is careful attention to every hectare of grain crops in order to ensure that the harvested area corresponds strictly to the sown area. Fifth, there is the productive utilization of equipment, the development of land reclamation and the enhancement of the effectiveness of [the use of] proclaimed land. Sixth, there is the careful storage of grain and the unconditional fulfillment of plans for the construction of elevators and storage facilities for seed and feed grain.

To achieve the average annual gross grain harvest set for the 11th 5-Year Plan it will be necessary to increase the grain harvest per hectare by at least 3 quintals by comparison with the 10th 5-Year Plan. Over the past 5-year period the increase in the grain crop yield was 1.9 quintals. Much has to be done, therefore. The all-union agronomists' conference in December 1980 elaborated recommendations to improve the efficiency of agronomic work. It is important that these recommendations should be taken up extensively. Above all a scientifically substantiated system of arable farming must be introduced on every kolkhoz and sovkhoz. That includes the assimilation of the correct crop rotation systems and the transition to progressive methods of grain crop cultivation, the improvement of soil treatment and its protection against water and wind erosion, the improvement of seed growing and the accelerated introduction of new strains and hybrids, an increase in the application of fertilizers and the expansion of sown areas on reclaimed land, the reduction of the time taken to perform fieldwork and many other measures known and accessible to every farm.

Calculations show that the assimilation of the correct crop rotation systems makes it possible to grow at least 6 million tons more grain on the same area. The well-organized struggle against water and wind erosion can bring a considerable saving. But an increase in the harvest from these measures depends entirely on the standard of work of the country's agronomic service. The specialists, and primarily kolkhoz and sovkhoz agronomists, have something to work at, expanding their efforts, experience and knowledge to the full.

The proverb has it that you cannot expect good stock from bad seed. That is why the party, in outlining measures to boost yields of grain crops, attaches paramount significance to grain crop selection work and to seed growing. It must be noted that due attention was not paid everywhere to this important factor in the 10th 5-Year Plan.

Every 10th hectare sown to grain is so far taken up by unzoned strains. The propagation of new strains and hybrids and the replacement of old strains with these are being carried out only slowly in a number of regions. Specialized seed growing farms are failing to cope with the targets.

The improvement of selection and seed growing, given progressive agrotechnics, produces no smaller an increase in the harvest that the assimilation of correct crop rotation systems. All these questions are inseparable from the structure of grain farming, whose importance is growing increasingly with every passing year. The point is that the country's food grain requirements are satisfied fully.

It is for feed purposes that there is a grain shortage. That means that forage grain crops and pulse crops must occupy a fitting place in sowings and their proportion in the gross harvest must be considerably increased.

In this connection it has been decided to expand sowings of corn for grain and sowings of soybeans in Moldavia, the southern oblasts of the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, Central Asia and the Transcaucasus. Many parts of the country have good conditions for cultivating peas, barley and oats. "In general," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev stressed, "the time has come to embark actively on ensuring the planned transition--taking account of natural and economic conditions--to a more rational structure for the area sown to grain."

In previous years many farms have failed to fulfill production and procurement plans for groat crops, particularly buckwheat and millet. The basic guidelines for the economic and social development of the USSR draw attention to increasing the gross harvest of these crops. The attainment of this goal will be secured on the same total area by thorough siting and concentrating groat crops at farms in the most favorable natural and climatic zones and by sharply improving agricultural technology in cultivating them.

Introduction of Industrial Technology

The solution of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress in the grain farming sphere is inconceivable without the further consolidation of the material and technical base and the improvement of the use of the machinery and tractor pool and means for the chemicalization of agriculture. In the 11th 5-Year Plan it is planned to supply the countryside with 1.87 million tractors, 1.45 million trucks, 0.6 million grain harvesting combines and a great deal of other equipment. In 1985 the kolkhozes and sovkhozes will receive at least 115 million tons of mineral fertilizers in standard units.

The improvement of the standard of mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture will make it possible to introduce more extensively new methods of mechanized cultivation, harvesting and postharvest treatment of grain crops. Industrial production methods for growing corn for grain, for instance, will be used on almost 3 million hectares in 1981. Last year the yield of corn grown for grain using new methods was 10-12 quintals per hectare more than on areas where this crop was cultivated by conventional means.

To cultivate and harvest grain crops, designers are planning to create over 20 new machines, of which 14 will be in series production as early as the current 5-year plan. They include a wide-gauge [shirokokhvatnaya] self-propelled header, new grain cleaning units, including units for processing corn on the cob and modernized Niva, Kilos and Sibiryak combines with an increased grain throughput capacity.

Nor is the situation good everywhere with the utilization of available equipment on farms. Despite the replenishment of the pool with more powerful machinery, the daily output per standard tractor has shown virtually no increase over the past 10 years and for a number of harvesting machines it has even fallen.

We cannot tolerate the long stoppages of equipment at the height of fieldwork, or instances of its poor storage and premature writing off on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The task consists of ensuring that all machinery used in grain farming is employed in a highly productive manner, with the greatest efficiency. There are also many "blank spots" in chemicalization. The duty of workers in the industry producing mineral fertilizers and chemical plant protection agents is to involve themselves actively in competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans for the production and deliveries of the output valuable to agriculture.

With every passing year sowing of grain on reclaimed land is expanding, but so far this process is proceeding only slowly and needs to be considerably accelerated. Grain sowings on reclaimed land should become a zone of guaranteed big harvests. The country's graingrowers are now doing everything to carry out the spring sowing of all grain crops as rapidly as possible and to a higher standard and to lay a firm foundation for a full harvest in the first year of the 11th 5-Year Plan. An increase in grain production is the most important condition for the successful development of all agriculture.

FURTHER COVERAGE OF THE SOYUZ-40 SPACEFLIGHT

Docking Completed

LD152255 Moscow TASS in English 2250 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 15 May TASS--The Soyuz-40 spacecraft linked up with the orbital Salyut-6--Soyuz T-4 complex on May 15, 1981 at 22 hours 50 minutes Moscow time.

An international crew consisting of three Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Kovalenok, Viktor Savinykh, Leonid Popov and Romanian Cosmonaut Dumitru Prunariu is working in space aboard the orbital research complex Salyut-6--Soyuz T-4--Soyuz-40.

The scientific programme of the flight drawn up jointly by Soviet and Romanian scientists is designed to last for seven days. It provides for the study of the natural resources of the earth and the earth's environment, physical-technical and technological experiments, medical and biological research. The systems of the orbital Salyut-6--Soyuz T-4--Soyuz-40 research complex are functioning normally. Cosmonauts Kovalenok, Savinykh, Popov and Prunariu feel well.

The flight of the international crew comprising cosmonauts of the Soviet Union and Romania is a vivid example of the expansion of scientific-technical cooperation between the socialist countries. It will make a valuable contribution to the development of friendship between the Soviet and Romanian peoples.

Crew Enters Salyut-6

LD160614 Moscow TASS in English 0540 GMT 16 May 81

[Excerpts] Moscow, 16 May TASS--TASS special correspondent Aleksander Romanov reports from the Mission Control Center.

In the early morning today after the check-up of leak-proofness of the joints of the spaceship and the station, Leonid Popov and Dumitru Prunariu stepped across the "threshold" of Salyut-6, the most durable station, in which seven representatives of the countries of the socialist community have already worked over the period of from 1978 to 1981. The guests were welcomed by the hosts of the space home Vladimir Kovalenok and Viktor Savinykh.

Commenting on the start of work by the Soviet-Romanian crew, Academician Vladimir Kotelnikov said with gratification "The study and exploration of outer space by the joint efforts of peoples, as experience has shown, broadens the knowledge, enriches practices and contributes to scientific-technical progress in the world."

Brezhnev, Ceausescu Greeted

LD152258 Moscow TASS in English 2248 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 16 May, TASS--The crew of the orbital complex Salyut-6--Soyuz T-4--Soyuz-40 Cosmonauts Kovalenok, Savinykh, Popov and Prunariu have sent a telegram to Leonid Brezhnev and Nicolae Ceausescu. It says:

"We report to you from aboard the orbital research complex Salyut-6--Soyuz T-4--Soyuz-40 that the international crew consisting of Soviet and a Romanian cosmonauts has commenced fulfilment of the program of joint research and experiments. The onboard systems of the complex are functioning normally. The cosmonauts are feeling well. We will draw on all our energy, knowledge and experience to successfully fulfil the flight program.

Long live friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Romanian peoples, of all countries of the socialist community."

Initial Activities Noted

LD161044 Moscow TASS in English 1016 GMT 16 May 81

[TASS correspondent report from Moscow Control Center]

[Text] Moscow, 16 May, TASS--The working day of the international crew on board of the orbital complex Salyut-6--Soyuz T-4--Soyuz-40 started at 14 hours today and will last till mid-night. As usual, on the first days of the flight medical check-ups are carried out to evaluate the state of health at the initial period of adaption of weightlessness. With this aim Leonid Popov and Dumitru Prunariu will carry out experiments to examine the cardio-vascular system and determine the optimum regime for the use of special prophylactic equipment.

In the joint flight the crew of the visiting expedition are to carry out a number of astrophysical and technical experiments with the use of the equipment, which was delivered on board the Soyuz-40.

Today the cosmonauts are to place in the work compartment of the station and in the air lock chamber dielectric detectors to register heavy charged particles of cosmic radiation. In the second air lock chamber the crew will install the Nanoveti equipment for the study of the effects of the outer space media on construction materials.

In the course of the day Vladimir Kovalenok and Viktor Savinykh will carry out pre-planned operations in experiments with biological objects, will do physical exercises and assist their comrades in their work. To specify the conditions of carrying out technical experiments in micrograviation, they are to install an instrument for the registration of dynamic disturbances caused by the operation of the equipment and outfit of the station. According to the telemetric measurements and reports from the orbit, the flight of the Salyut-6--Soyuz T-4--Soyuz-40 is proceeding normally. All the members of the international crew are in good health and feel well.

Second Day's Work

LD172238 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 17 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 May, TASS--TASS correspondent reports from the Mission Control Centre:

Cosmonauts Vladimir Kovalenok, Viktor Savinykh, Leonid Popov and Dumitru Prunariu have been conducting joint investigations in orbit for a second day. Much attention in today's programme was devoted to medical experiments. In one of them, crew members were to determine the effects of specific state flight factors such as weightlessness, absence of support and the highly responsible kinds of work they do, on the processes of information perception and processing. Investigations are carried out with the help of special tests which permit them to evaluate various aspects of man's mental activity in the conditions of space flight. In experiments code-named "Ballisto" and "Neptun" they study the tone and contracting capacity of the cardiac muscle and the keenness and depth of the cosmonauts' vision.

They started an experiment, "Nanovesy", to find out the effects of space environment on structural materials. Using high-precision apparatus the cosmonauts fix the changes of a film's mass of silicon dioxide, which may be used for protecting various optic elements of space apparatuses.

There is also the "Astro-2" experiment during which heavy charged particles are registered for the purposes of further study of the composition of cosmic radiation. They also determine the position of the complex in orbit in order to find out the effects of the earth's magnetic field on fluxes of cosmic particles.

Vladimir Kovalenok and Viktor Savinykh installed today the "Pion" unit which was brought by the Soyuz-40 ship and explore convective currents of fluid in the conditons of weightlessness. During the day they also shot a film about the joint work of the international crew and do physical exercises. According to the results of medical control the cosmonauts feel well. The flight of the Salyut-6--Soyuz T-4--Soyuz-40 research complex is proceeding normally.

Cosmonauts' Biographies

LD142008 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 14 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 14 May, TASS-- Commander of the spaceship Soyuz-40 that was launched today in the USSR, Hero of the Soviet Union, Pilot-Cosmonaut Leonid Popov was born on August 31, 1945, in the city of Aleksandriya in the Kirovograd region. Upon graduating in 1968 from the Chernigov high air school he served in the air force as a pilot of a fighter plane. In 1970 Leonid Popov joined the cosmonauts' detachment. He took part on controlling flights of spacecraft. Leonid Popov is member of the CPSU since 1971. In 1976, without quitting work in the cosmonauts' training center, he graduated from the Yuriy Gagarin Air Force Academy. Leonid Popov made his first space flight that lasted for 185 days in 1980 as commander of the main expedition on board the station Salyut-6.

Researcher-Cosmonaut of the spaceship Soyuz-40, citizen of Socialist Republic of Romania Dumitru Prunariu was born on September 27, 1952, in the city of Brasov.

Upon graduating in 1976 from the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute he worked as an engineer at an aircraft factory. Later he graduated from the air force officers' school and served in the air force regiment of the Romanian People's Army.

Senior Engineer Lieutenant Dumitru Prunariu is a member of the Romanian Communist Party since 1973. In March 1978 he started training for the spaceflight under the programme Intercosmos at the Yuriy Gagarin Cosmonauts' Training Center. He has completed the course of training under the programme of the manned spaceship Soyuz and orbital station Salyut.

METEOR-2 EARTH SATELLITE LAUNCHED SUCCESSFULLY

LD151024 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] Moscow, 15 May, TASS--The meteorological earth satellite Meteor-2 has been launched in the USSR today. The satellite has been put into an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution--102.5 minutes, maximum distance from the earth's surface--904 kilometers, minimum distance--868 kilometers, inclination of the orbit--81.3 degrees.

Installed on board the satellite are complexes of equipment for obtaining global images of cloudiness and the underlying surface in the visible and infrared bands of the spectrum both for storage and for live transmission, as well as radiometric equipment for an incessant observation of the streams of penetrating radiation in near earth space. The onboard equipment is functioning normally.

SCIENCE ACADEMIES CONFERENCE HELD IN TASHKENT

GF131529 Tashkent International Service in Uzbek 1700 GMT 12 May 81

[Excerpt] The conference of science academies (?affiliated with) the USSR Academy of Sciences was held in Tashkent on 12 May. The conference deliberated on scientific work and research. Anatoliy Aleksandrov, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the presidents of national science academies and other prominent scientists from the Soviet republics participated in the conference. Abid Sadykov, president of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, addressed the conference on important scientific issues and on cooperation among central Asian and Kazakh science academies to resolve scientific problems.